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A
COMMENTARY

On the First Fifteen, and Part of the Sixteenth

ARTICLES

OF THE

CHURCH of ENGLAND.

By WILLIAM NICHOLLS, D. D.

LONDON:

Printed in the YEAR MDCCXII.

A
COMMENTARY

On the Fifth, Tenth, and Part of the Sixteenth

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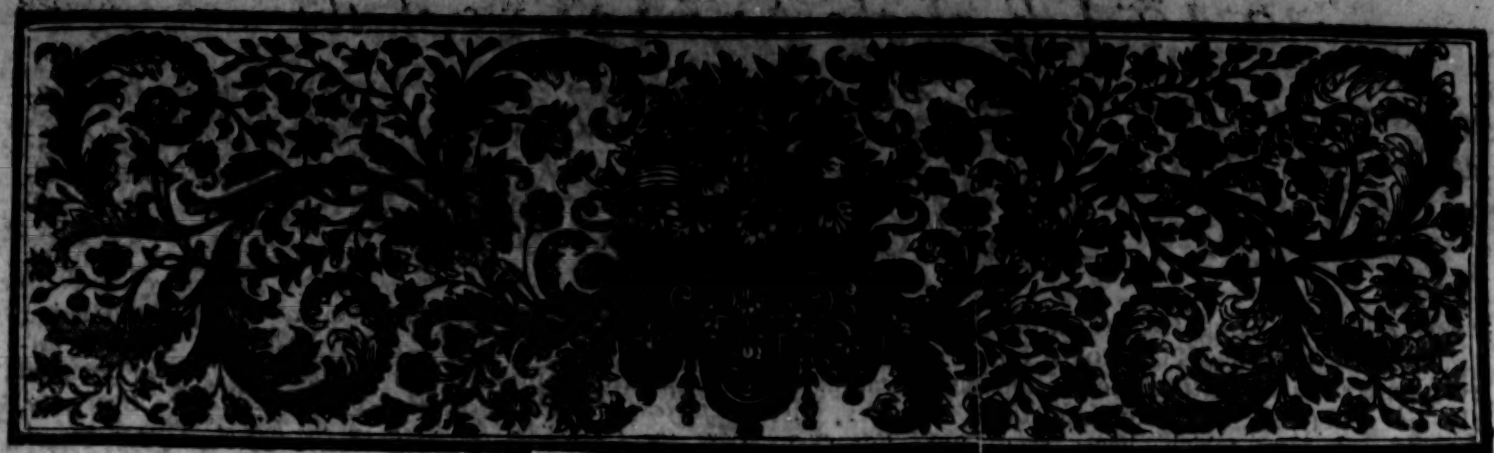
OF THE

CHURCH of ENGLAND

By WILLIAM NICHOLLS D.D.

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A COMMENTARY on the ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH of ENGLAND.

King Edward the VIth's
ARTICLES.

The ARTICLES.

ARTICULI.

* Articles agreed upon
by the Bishops, and
other Learned and
good Men in the

Articles whereupon it was a-
greed by the Archbishops and
Bishops of both Provinces,
and the whole Cleargie, in

Articuli de quibus conve-
nit inter Archiepisco-
pos & Episcopos, utri-
usq; Provincia, & Cle-
rum universum in Sy-
nodo Londini, Anno

* Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other Learned and good Men in the Convocation held at London in the Year 1552. It is become a Controversy whether these Articles of King Edward were really drawn up in Convocation, as the Title seems to import, or only by Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley, and this Title put to them, to make them pass the more current. The former Opinion is maintained by Dr. Heylin and Dr. Atterbury, the latter by Bishop Burnet. The Bishop's Arguments for his Opinion, are these; (1.) The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, condemn'd by these Articles, were so Beneficial to the whole Body of the Clergy, that without a Miracle they could not be agreed to by a Major part, i. e. of the Convocation. Introd. to the Expos. on 29. Art. (2.) That there was the like Art used in setting forth Poinet's Catechism; and for this he vouches the Acknowledgement of Philpot, and Archbishop Cranmer himself. For thus Philpot speaks, Concerning the Article of the Catechism, I think you are deceived in the Title of the Catechism, in that it beareth the Title of the Synod of London, last before this, altho' many of them which were then present, were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this House had granted the Authority unto certain Persons to be appointed by the King's Majesty, &c. Fox Vol. III. p. 20. But the Bishop of Sarum is willing to allow Philpot's Evidence, but not his Reason upon it; saying, That Philpot alledged this, being prest with an Objection, to which he had no other Answer ready; he knew there was such a Commission, and therefore he fancied he had prepared these Books. To this he adds the Testimony of Archbishop Cranmer, concerning the said Catechism, in his Examination before the Convocation in Oxford, where Weston the Prolocutor objected to him in these Words: West. Also you have set forth a Catechism in the Name of the Synod in London, and yet there be Fifty which Witnessing that they were of the number of the Convocation, never heard one word of this Catechism. Cran. I was ignorant of the setting to of that Title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me by them, that the Book was so intituled, because it was set forth in the time of Convocation. Fox Vol. III. p. 80. The Bishop of Sarum cites the further Testimony of Archbishop Cranmer, in the Interrogatories put to him, in order to his final Censure. Inter. Item, That the said Thomas Cranmer, &c. did compile, and caused to be set abroad diverse Books. Answ. As

for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other Book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings. Fox Vol. III. p. 656. These Proofs the Bishop thinks so strong, that they decide the Point, so that it will admit of no more Debate, Vid. Bp. Sar. Reflections on the Rights of Convocation.

Dr. Atterbury on the other side contends, that these Articles were passed either by the whole Body of the Convocation, or by a Committee: As to the Bishop's Argument, that the major Part of the Synod could not have agreed to them without a Miracle; he answers, That the Acts of another Synod, ten Years afterwards, assure us such a Miracle was done. And for this he cites a Copy of the Acts of the Convocation, 1562, written in a Hand of the time, and taken from the Registers of that Convocation soon after it sate, giving an Account of the Proceedings of every Day. And in the 19th of January are these words: Et (Prolocutor) ulterius proposuit quod Articuli in Synodo Londinensi tempore nuper Regis Edwardi sexti editi, traditi sint quibusdam aliis viris ex cœtu dicti Domus Inferioris, ad hoc etiam electis, ut eos diligenter perspiciant, examinent & considerent, ac prout iis visum fuerit, corrigant & reforment. And the Prolocutor further proposed, that the Articles set forth by the Synod of London, in the time of Edward VI. &c. Att. Rights, &c. p. 379. This Journal, the Bishop says, deserves no Credit, but is a plain Forgery; but he does not tell us against whom the Charge is laid, nor upon what Reasons it is grounded.

Dr. Heylin is of an Opinion not different from that of Dr. Atterbury, and says, 'That it may be concluded, that the Convocation had devolved their Power on some grand Committee, sufficiently Authoriz'd to Debate, Conclude, and Publish what they had concluded in the name of the rest. And being so empower'd to that end and purpose, the Articles by them concluded and agreed upon, may war- rantably be affirm'd to be the Acts and Products of the Convocation, confirm'd and establish'd for such by the King's Authority, as appears further by the Title, viz. Regia Autoritate editi; and for this quotes the foremen- tion'd words of Philpot, That the said House had granted the Authority to make Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. spoken with relation to the Catechism. This he says may be also the Case of the Book of Articles, which may be truly and justly said to be the work of the Convocation, tho' many Members of it never saw the same. Adding, 'Had

last Convocation held
at London, in the

the Convocation holden at
London, in the Year of our
Lorde God 1562, according

1562. secundum compu-
tationem Ecclesie Ang-
licane, ad tollendam O-

it been otherwise, King Edward, a most Pious and Religious Prince, must needs be looked on as a wicked and lewd Impostor, in putting such a horrible Cheat upon all his Subjects, by fathering these Articles on the Convocation, which begat them not, nor ever gave consent to them. And yet it is not altogether improbable, but that these Articles being Debated and Agreed upon by the said Committee, might also pass the Vote of the whole Convocation, tho' we find nothing in the Acts thereof, which either have been lost, or were never Registered. Besides, it is to be observed that the Church of England, for the first five Years of Queen Elizabeth, retained these Articles, and none other, as the publick Tenets of the Church, in point of Doctrine; which certainly she never had done, had they been commended to her by less Authority than a Convocation.

To give my Opinion freely concerning these opposite Sentiments, I think the latter is the most Charitable, and the most Reasonable. For the Rules of our Religion forbid us to tax any one with a Crime, especially so foul an one as Forgery, without such evident Proof and Notoriety of Fact, as is next to Demonstration. Which Rules bind yet closer, when the Persons accused demand, not only Respect and Gratitude from us, but the exposing their Imperfections strikes at our Religion, and gives occasion to our common Adversaries to Blaspheme. With Submission to his Lordship, I think it was a little too severe to tax Dr. Atterbury, or the Writer of the MSS. he quotes, with Forgery; but to Charge such a shuffling Trick upon a pious Prince and his Ministry, to whom we owe the Benefits of our Reformation, and upon the most Eminent of the Protestant Clergy, many of which laid down their Lives for our common Religion, is a Degree of Incaution, which one would not have expected from his Lordship's Prudence and Moderation. Nor do I think that his Lordship's Reasonings have so decided this Point, that it will admit of no more Debate. I am humbly of Opinion, that some things have drop'd from his Lordship's Pen in this Point, which have happened to perplex it more than it was before. What Dr. Atterbury advanced, in Proof of the regular passing these Articles in King Edward's Reign, from the Journal he cited, has brought to light an Authority which had lain unobserv'd before, and deserv'd a further Consideration, than to throw it off, by saying, it is a plain Forgery. For the words which he cites are not only found in the Transcript he made use of, but in the very Original Acts themselves, as I find them published by Dr. Gibson in his *Synodus Anglicana*, p. 192. without the variation of a Letter or Syllable. So that the Evidence produced by Dr. Atterbury still stands good, notwithstanding his Lordship's Impeachment, and we have the Authority of the Convocation of 1562, to prove that the first Edition of the Articles were in *Synodo Londinensi tempore nuper Regis Edwardi sexti editi*; the plain English of which is, that they were either passed in Convocation at London, or at least drawn up by order of Convocation. But supposing the Trick had been play'd, which his Lordship suggests, would Queen Elizabeth's Convocation have ventur'd to have overhauld this Matter again, ten Years after, and have vindicated a Fraud, which was notorious to all the Popish Bishops and Clergy, who being turned out of their Preferments, would never have spared them, could they have had such an Advantage against them? If the Convocation of 1562 had been conscious, of any such indirect Practice of the Protestant Clergy in King Edward's time, they would have passed the whole matter over in silence, they would have composed a New Set of Articles themselves, without any Relation had to the old Book, and not have gone about to have vindicated a Fraud, which must tend only to their own Disgrace, and this too when there was no occasion for it, and they might as well have gone on upon their work, without it.

Neither do I think that Archdeacon Philpot's Evidence, in this Point, has so little weight as his Lordship is pleased to allow it; and that he only alledged this, being pressed with an Objection to which he had no other Answer ready. There is nothing in all Mr. Philpot's Character, which can make us suspect him to have given any diverting or insincere Answer, on account of the hardest Objection that he could be pressed with. He was a Gentleman by Extraction, and a Man of good Sense; that he wanted neither Honesty nor Courage, is plain from his dying for his Religion; and therefore we may be sure, he would never solemnly attest any thing to be true, which he was not certain of the Truth of. But I do not find that Philpot was pressed by any thing relating to the Articles, or that

he was pressed by any thing else. The Convocation meeting the first of Queen Mary, Octob. 20, 1553, Resolved upon two Points: First, That Christ was naturally present in the Sacrament of the Altar: Secondly, That the Catechism set forth in the last of King Edward, was not of that House's Agreement set forth, and immediately fell to Subscribing to the Truth of these two Propositions: This was indeed hot-headed work, to Resolve and Subscribe, without either Proof or Debate. Therefore Mr. Archdeacon Philpot voluntarily stood up in his place, and told them, that this Catechism was set forth by the Committee for Ecclesiastical Law. And in this Point he thought the Setters forth thereof nothing to have slandered the House, as they by their Subscription went about to persuade the World, since they had our Synodal Authority, unto them committed, to make such Spiritual, as they thought convenient and necessary. Fox Vol. II. p. 20. But still all this is with relation to the Catechism, and not to the Articles. The Articles indeed and the Catechism were printed together in 1553; but in the Title of the Book they are clearly distinguished from each other. *Catechismus Brevis, Christianae Disciplina summam continens, omnibus Ludi Magistris Auctoritate Regia commendatus. Huic Catechismo adjuncti sunt Articuli de quibus, &c.* Lond. cum Privileg. Sereniss. Regis A. D. MDLIII. Here you may see that Archbishop Cranmer took care, in the Latin Edition of the Catechism, that it should be attributed only to the Royal Authority, and not to that of Convocation. Upon the whole it seems not improbable, that the Articles should have passed the whole House, or at least that they were more publicly treated of in the Committee for Ecclesiastical Laws, than the Catechism. For the Popish Convocation never ventures to arraign the Articles, but always the Catechism; as appears before in the Citation out of Cranmer's Tryal, *Te have set forth a Catechism, &c.* Therefore to be sure the Articles had some clearer Authority of the Synod than the Catechism; for since the Articles must needs grieve them more, they being forced by the King's Injunction to subscribe to them, yet, notwithstanding this, they have nothing to say against these hated Articles, but are forced to wreak all their Spleen against a poor Catechism.

As to Archbishop Cranmer's complaining to the Council of the false Title, this likewise relates to the Catechism; for there is not a word of the Articles in all that Relation in Fox.

As to Archbishop Cranmer's making Answer, That as for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other Book against Winchester, he grants them to be his doings; we may say that this does not hinder, but that the Convocation might have a hand in some of them likewise. The Archbishop might call them his doings, because he first proposed them to the Convocation; or, when regularly passed the Convocation, they might be attributed to him who was President thereof; as all our Provincial Constitutions bear the Name of the Archbishops who presided in the Convocations, wherein the Canons were made. And in this Sense *Constitutiones Peckham, Illepe, Arundel, &c.* are the doings of those several Archbishops.

This was such sufficient Proof of these Articles being, some way or other, passed in Convocation, as served to silence all Objections of the Papists, as satisfy'd the Convocation of 1562, held ten Years afterwards, and settled this Matter so as hardly any one ever since has ventured to dispute it. The first Man that ever seem'd to question it, was Fuller in his Church-History, who in his trifling way says, *this barren Convocation is intituled the Parent of the Articles of Religion*; and speaking of the Committee of Convocation before-mentioned, says, *the Convocation (it seems) passed over their Power*; and that he should be thankful to him who should produce the Original Instrument; ridiculing, in his awkward way, the receiv'd Opinion of their being passed in Convocation, which he says, the King could not trust, they having under the fair Kind of Protestant Profession, the rotten Core of Romish Superstition. Fuller's Church-History, p. 420.

Dr. Heylin, in his *Examen Historicum*, takes the trifling Man to task; shewing, That this was an impudent Arraignment of the King and Council; That the King had more reason to have any such Jealousy at that time of the major Part of the Clergy, but that he might trust them with Power to meddle with matters of Religion, (which is the only Argument which our Author bringeth against those Articles.) This Convocation being holden in the sixth Year of his Reign, when most of the Episcopal Sees,

*Year 1552, to root out
the Discord of Opi-
nions, and Establish*

*to the Computation of the
Church of Englande, for
the avoyding of the † Diver-*

*pinionum diffensionem,
& consensum in vera
Religione firmandum.
Editi Autoritate se-*

Sees and Parochial Churches were filled with Men agreeable to his Desires, and generally conformable to the Form of Worship, then by Law Established. And in Answer to his Argument from the silence of the Acts, he says, *The Truth is, that the Records of Convocation during this King's whole Reign, and the five first Years of Queen Mary, are very imperfect and defective, most of them being lost, and amongst others, those of this present Year; and yet one might conclude as strongly, that my Mother died Childless because my Christening is not found in the Parish Register, as that the Convocation of this Year was barren, because the Acts and Articles of it are not entered in the Journal Book.* Exam. Hist. p. 122, 123. This perfectly stop'd Fuller's Mouth, who in his Reply can say nothing to it. Now since this was of force to confute the Author of the Objection, it had deserved some Consideration from those who have been Retailers of his Argument, vid. Preface.

† *Diversities of Opinions.* These Articles could not be designed to oblige all Persons who are to Subscribe to them, that they should agree in every Point of Theology, which is controverted among Divines, that being a thing impossible; for Men will necessarily disagree in many of these things, according to the different Degrees of their Learning, and the several Courses of their Studies: But that they should so far agree as to own their Satisfaction in those Points, which are expressly determined by plain words, in these Articles. So that any Person who believes the Popish Doctrines of Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, &c. cannot sincerely Subscribe to these Articles, which do expressly condemn those Doctrines. And this is the Reason of this Expression, of *for avoiding Diversity of Opinions, and for establishing Consent touching true Religion.* For it would have been a great Blemish to our Reformation, to have a Minister in one Church preaching up the Doctrine of the Mass, and another against it; one Writing for the Worship of the Blessed Virgin, and another the direct contrary. But, as for those Theological Points, which do not affect the main of Religion, which seldom offer themselves to be handled in Popular Discourses, and not being in these Articles expressly determined, the Clergy are as much at liberty, to entertain different Opinions from each other concerning them, as they were before.

But then considerable Caution must be used herein, and Men must not indulge fanciful Glosses, and wiredraw the Words in the Articles to unreasonable Senses, to reconcile them to their particular Opinions. I do not know that we have any Authentick Rule, besides the general Laws of Interpretation, to govern us in this matter; unless we will allow that in King James the 1st's Declaration to be one, (tho' I believe the Force of it did not, nor was design'd to extend beyond his time,) *That no Man thereafter should put his own Sense or Comment to be the meaning of the Article, but should take it in the Literal and Grammatical Sense.* From this the Learned Bishop Burnet draws this Inference, *That an Article being conceived in such general words, that it can admit of different Literal and Grammatical Senses, even when the Senses are plainly contrary to each other, both Sides may Subscribe the Article with a good Conscience, and without any Equivocation.* Introd. to the Exposition on the Thirty Nine Art. p. 6. These words have been the occasion of a great deal of Discourse and Controversy, and tho' possibly his Lordship may have in some Particulars extended his own Rule too far, yet I cannot but own, that upon the main this Rule holds true. And tho' I am no ways concerned to vindicate the Bishop; yet this Assertion of his having been sometimes attack'd, I think, without due caution, I will venture to say something in Justification of that, and add some further Rules; for the

*Some Articles
purposely drawn
up in general
Terms.*

Explication of the Articles. 1. It is very probable, that some of these Articles were purposely drawn up in general Terms, for the Satisfaction of Persons, who had different Sentiments, in some particular Points. And this I think can be no doubt to any one who reads over the Names of those, who Compiled and first Subscribed to these Articles. Some of them learn'd their Divinity from the Fathers, without any Relation had to the Doctrines of Modern Divines; some went upon the foot of Luther's and Melancthon's Doctrine; others that had been Exiles at Geneva were perfectly wedded to Calvin's Divinity, and perhaps not a little to his Form of Church Discipline. Some were for a real, tho' undeterminable Presence in the Eucharist; whilst others

thought Christ's Body was only there by Figure, or Representation. Now can any one say that these several Persons held no diversity of Opinions? or can any one think, that they would agree to the passing these Articles, but that they thought they were conceived in such general terms, that they all might Subscribe them with a good Conscience, and without Equivocation? Now take this either with relation to King Edward's or Queen Elizabeth's Articles, we shall find that the Drawers up of them were in several things of very different Opinions, not only before, but after their Subscription to the Articles. For the Truth of this I appeal either to the Writings of several of those Divines themselves, or to the Collections made out of them by Montague and Pryn, Heylin and Hickman, Bishop Cosins, &c. But for the present, this may suffice. Dorman wrote his Book against our Reformation not long after Queen Elizabeth's Articles were published, wherein he says, that our Divines were not agreed about the Doctrine of the Real Presence, that Gess Preached at Rochester for the Real Presence, and Grindal at London against it; that Archbishop Parker being a Lutheran, maintained a third Opinion. His Book was answered by Dr. Howel, who does not altogether deny the Charge, but will not allow it to amount to a Schism, as

he taxes it, in our Church: He only says, 'These were small matters in Comparison, however he called them by the Name of Schism; and that they little troubled the State of the Church, whilst he named one as diverse from other in Opinion in one Point, and falsely surmized of another to be a Lutheran'. He disallows indeed the Imputation against the Archbishop, but owns the difference between the other two, reckoning it to be but a small matter. Vid. *Stripe's Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 297. And if we consider *Talbot's* Petition against the Predestinarian Doctrine, and the qualifying Clauses then added, *bath chosen in Christ out of Mankind; and the leaving out the words though the Decrees of Predestination be unknown to us; and making the Sentence run, Furthermore we must receive God's Promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth unto us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declar'd to us in the Word of God:* This does clearly shew, that it was the design of the Compilers of these Articles, to oblige the Subscribers only to some general Agreement, and not to force them all to consent to any one Particularity of Opinion.

And truly this is the Judgment of the most Learned and Zealous Defenders of our Church: Men never taxed with any faulty Latitude of Opinions, at least with Disfavour to the Church. King Charles the 1st, I think, is an unexceptionable Authority in this Point, who in his Declaration published with the Articles 1630 says,

If even in those curious Points, in which the present Differences lie, most Men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England for them, then may be inferred, what the Right Reverend Bishop of Chester hath said; This rather gives Testimony of the great Wisdom and Moderation of the Church, which in Points doubtful and controverted, hath propounded only that which no Sober Man can make matter of Doubt, or Subject of Controversy. And again, In these curious and unhappy Differences, which have for so many hundred Years in different Times and Places exercis'd the Church of Christ; we Will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these Disputes shut up in God's Promises, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scriptures, and the general Meaning of the Articles of the Church of England. Archbishop Laud says, *The Church of England never declared, that every one of her Articles are Fundamentals in the Faith; for it is one thing to say, no one of them is Superstitious or Erroneous, and quite another to say, every one of them is Fundamental.* Laud against Fisher, § 14. Bishop Bramhall declares his Opinion in this Point thus, *If it were not for this Disciplinary Humour, which will admit no Latitude in Religion, but makes each Nicety a Fundamental, and every private Opinion an Article of Faith, which prefers particular Errors before general Truths; I doubt not but that all reformed Churches would easily be reconciled; Wherefore in such Points which may be held diversly of diverse Men (salva fidei compage) I would not take any Man's Liberty from him, and humbly beseech all Men that they would not take mine from me.* Bramhall's Fair Warning. Bishop Sanderson, among

*That this was
designed, the Opi-
nion of the most
Eminent Persons
of our Church.*

*See the Postscript
to Ridley's 3 Letter
to the Author of the
Confessional p. 173*

the Agreement of true Religion.

Published by the King's Authority.

sities of Opinions, and for the Stablifhing of consent touching true Religion. Put forth by the Queens Authoritie.

renissima Regina. Londini, apud Johannem Day, 1571.

Titulus Artic. Ed. VI. Lat.

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, A. D. 1552. ad tollendam Opinionum dissensionem & consentum veræ Religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos & alios eruditos Viros convenerat. Regia auctoritate in lucem Editi.

Excusum Londini apud Reginaldum Wolfium Regiæ Majestatis in Latinis Typographum. A. D. M. D. L. III.

among his Directions for Peace, lays down this for one, That particular Churches would be as tender as may be in giving their Definitions and Determinations, especially where there may be admitted a Latitude of Dissenting, without prejudice done either to the Substance of the Catholick Faith, or to the Tranquility of the Church, or to the Salvation of the Dissenter. Sand. Pax. Ecclesiæ. Bishop Sparrow was as great a Lover of our Constitution as any one, and yet declares for a greater Liberty of Opinion, than most have done. In Controversies about Doctrines, wherein the Church has received no such clear Determination of either part from Christ and his Apostles, she hath Power to declare her own Sense in the Controversy, and to determine which part shall be received and profest for Truth by her Members, and that too under Ecclesiastical Penalty and Censure, which they are accordingly bound to submit to, not as an infallible Verity, but as a probable Truth, and rest in her Determination, till it be made plain by as great or a greater Authority, that this her Determination is an Error; and if it shall appear to any of the Members to be an Error, or if they shall think it to be so by the weight of such Reasons as are privately suggested to them, yet they are still obliged to Silence and Peace (where the Decision of a particular Church is against the Doctrine of the Universal) not to profess in this case against the Churches Determination, because the professing such a controverted Truth is not necessary, but the Preservation of the Peace and Unity of the Church is. Sparrow's Pref. to his Collection. Dr. Heylin was never taxed for want of regard to the Constitution of the Church, and yet he expresses himself thus: Their (i. e. the Compilers of the Articles) Moderation was not less visible, in not stuffing the Book of Articles with all Conclusions Theological, in which a Latitude of Judgment was to be allow'd as far as might be with Peace and Charity. As they omitted many whole Articles, and qualified the Expressions of some others, in King Edward's Book; so they were very sparing in Defining any thing, which was merely matter of Modality. Hist. of Queen Elizabeth, p. 159. He yet declares himself more expressly in this Point elsewhere. The Articles of the Protestant Church, in the Infancy thereof, were drawn up in general Terms, foreseeing that Posterity would grow up to fill the same; meaning that these holy Men did prudently discover, that Differences in Judgment would unavoidably happen in the Church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from an Ecclesiastical Communion for petty Differences, which made them Pen the Articles in comprehensive words, to take in all who differing in Branches meet in the Root of the same Religion. Heyl. Hist. Quinquart. P. 2. c. 8.

The meaning of Subscription ex animo. But I know not how it has come to pass, that the Bishop of Sarum has made his own Rule less defensible, by a Proof which he has brought from the Form of Subscription in the 36th Canon, I subscribe willingly and ex animo, &c. which words, his Lordship says, seem to declare a Man's own Opinion, and not a bare Consent to an Article of Peace, or an Engagement to Silence and Submission. I am not altogether different from his Lordship's Judgment in this matter, but I am not so well satisfied with the Reason he grounds it upon. For ex animo in that Place does not signify according to my Opinion, or as I am firmly believe; but readily, or heartily. For this Form of Subscription is not a Form for Subscription to the Thirty Nine Articles, but to the Three Articles contained in that Canon, which are not so much Articles of Opinion as of Consent, and the Subscription to them declares, not what the Subscriber believes, but what he readily Consents to; for when the Subscriber by the Second Article promises, that he will use the Book of Common-Prayer, how can he be said to Subscribe to this, as his Opinion? He Subscribes to this Clause ex animo, because he heartily consents to use this Book. But besides, his Lordship is under some little Mistake to think, that ex animo does signify, according to a Man's Judgment or Opinion. For, as far as I am able to observe, ex animo never signifies so in the Latin Tongue, unless joined with the words dicere, loqui, &c. Equidem dicam ex animo quod sentio. Tusc. Q. Lib. iii. signifies, I truly will speak as I think. And so perhaps in a like Sense,

ex animo credere. Cic. ad. Att. But when it is joined to words of willing, wishing, loving, &c. it then signifies readily, or heartily. So amare ex animo, to love one heartily; Cic. ad. Q. Fratrem: Ex animo commendare, to recommend one heartily, Cic. ad Att. So ex animo miser, says the Man in Plautus, I am as miserable, as a Man could wish. Plaut. Trinum. Tibi bene ex animo volo. I heartily wish your welfare. Teren. Heaut. Ille, quem quem beneficio conjungis, ex animo facit; When you have obliged any one he will comply with your desires readily. Ter. Adelph. So that by the same Analogy the words willingly and ex animo being joined together; ex animo must in this Form of Subscription signify readily. This may not be improper to be observed; for the misunderstanding of this Expression, in the Subscription Form, may occasion some unreasonable Scruples in conscientious Men, and keep some of the best Men from entering into Holy Orders.

2. The Subscriber ought to Assent to each Article, taken in the Literal and Grammatical Sense. For if People were allowed to make far-fetch'd Interpretations of any Article, to take words in an unusual Meaning, to add or diminish, to supply Words to be understood, to take Emphatical Words for Expletives, that have no Signification; one might by such Method make every thing out of any thing, and explain the Bible into the Alcoran. But whereas the Civilians have divided the Grammatical Sense into two kinds, the Sensus Grammaticalis ab origine, and the Sensus Grammaticalis Popularis. Grot. de Jure Bell. Lib. ii. c. 16. the latter only is to be allow'd in the Interpretation of any Law or Writing. For to take Words in their first Original Signification, which by length of time they have much varied from, may carry them off to a Sense very different from what they were intended. Therefore the Expressions must be taken, in the plain common Sense they are generally used in, or were used in at the time of the making such Law, or Writing.

3. But then, as the Bishop of Sarum observes, there may several Grammatical Senses, sometimes very fairly, be put upon Expressions. His Lordship instances in the third Article of Christ's Descent into Hell; which Persons may Subscribe to, who by Hell either understand the Place of Torments, the Grave, or State of separate Souls. This is so clear a Case that I cannot imagine, why any one should find fault with his Lordship, upon this Account; for did not King Edward's Articles determine it to a Local Hell, his Soul being separate from his Body remained with the Spirits, &c. And was not this Clause struck out in Queen Elizabeth's Articles? Now can any one think that all the Subscribers to King Edward's Book did, at one instant, change their Opinions? or if they had, would not the Article have been drawn up more expressly than it is? The Truth of the matter is, Archbishop Parker, and those who drew up the New Edition of the Articles in 1562, struck out the latter Clause, which seemed a little to Countenance a Popish Doctrine, leaving the former part to stand, which being set down in general words, Persons might understand, according to their own Opinion, either one way or other; and so the matter passed over quietly, which otherways might have occasioned a Dispute.

4. For rightly understanding the Sense of an Article, besides the Governing ourselves by the Grammatical Sense of the words, the Sense of the Compilers of them is to be highly regarded; a Law being to be Interpreted according to the Mind of the Legislator. So that if the Compilers of the Articles have expressed themselves obscurely in any place, that is to be explained by what we find to have been their avowed Opinions, or by some other Place of their Writings or Authentick Books, where they have expressed themselves clearly. For instance, in the Twenty Third Article, if it be doubted, what is meant by these words, those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which

Articles to be explained in a Grammatical Sense.

There may be more Grammatical Senses.

But not contrary to the known Sense of the Compilers.



King Edward VI. Articles.

ARTICLE I.

ARTIC. Lat.

ART. I. Of Faith.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

ARTICULUS I.

There is but one living and true God, ever-

There is but ^a one ^b living and ^c true ^d God, ^d Ever-

Unus est vivus & verus Deus, æternus,

be called and chosen to this work by Men who have publick Authority given them in the Congregation to call and send Ministers: Is the Authority of the Church, or the Authority of the State to be understood? Are those that have Authority to send Ministers, to be Bishops, or mere Presbyters? If a number of *Erastians* or Presbyterians had drawn up these Articles, these general Words might have been interpreted to their Sense; but when they were drawn up by Bishops who well understood the Antient Fathers and Canons of the Church, and who themselves drew up the Forms of Ordination, where all Ordinations are enjoined to be performed by a Bishop, there can no doubt be made what they meant by publick Authority; for neither by the Laws of the Church or by the Laws of the Realm any publick Authority is granted to any other than Bishops, to ordain, to call, or send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard.

5. But what if in some Points the Minds of the Legislators be various, but however for Peace sake they agree in some Proposition which designedly they express in general Terms, that those of each Side may agree to? That this is frequently Matter of Fact, no one can be ignorant, who reads either the Antient or the Modern Councils. Why in such case, those that are obliged by the Laws have as much Liberty, for difference of Interpretation, as the Legislators themselves. And if any of these Articles do plainly appear to be so, as perhaps one or two of them may, they are to be understood only as Articles of Peace or Communion, and Divines of different Judgments may conscientiously Subscribe to them.

6. Another good Rule for Interpretation laid down by the Civil Law is, that if any Part of a Law shall seem contrary to another, that Part shall prevail, *Quæ causas habet, aut magis honestas aut magis utiles; Which shall be most conducing to Piety or the common Good.* Now in the XVIIth Article there does appear to be the same sort of Repugnancy. The former part of it is drawn up so, as very much countenances the Systematical or particular Predestination, i. e. God's Determination of every Man's final Doom from all Eternity: The latter part positively asserts the Predestination as 'tis delivered in Scripture, which denotes only a Call to the Gospel. Now whereas the latter Sense seems more to conduce to the Honour of God, to the Advancement of Piety, and to the Quiet of Mens Consciences, I ought to close with that rather than with the former.

7. Another Rule which the Civilians in a like case lay down is: *Quod postremo dictum est vincat: The Obligation lies in that which is last said.* Therefore, to instance again in the XVIIth Article. Tho' the former part thereof did as much countenance the rigid Predestinarian Doctrine, as is pretended; yet the latter part, we must receive God's Promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture, must direct our Judgment in this matter, it being designed to qualify what had been said before; so that I am not obliged to own any manner of Predestination, Decree or Purpose, but what is set forth in Scripture.

What is last said must preponderate.

Original of the Word GOD.

*God.] The use of the word God, to signify the supreme Being, seems to be of vast Antiquity in our Northern Nations; which the Romans having turned

into Latin, took the Deity designed by it to be a particular Local Numen. *Asserius*, in the Life of King *Alfred*, makes him and his Saxon Predecessors to be descended from *Geada*, quem *Pagani pro Deo venerabantur*; whom the Pagans worshipped for a God. And the Poet *Sedulius*, a North-Britain, who lived in the time of *Theodosius* the Younger, speaks of the same as a particular Deity of the Britains, and other Northern Nations.

*Cum sua gentiles studeant figmenta Poetæ,
Grandisonis pompare modis, tragicoq; boatu
Ridiculove G E D A E —*

Whilst Gentile Bards study their feigned Gods
With pompous Verse to praise, with Tragick cry
To G E A D odd-shapen Idol —

But it does not appear, that the Saxons by their G E A D meant any thing else than the other Germans did by their WOD, or WODEN, for the G and W are reciprocally used in German and Gaulish words, as *Galls*, *Walls*: *Wilhelm*, *Guilhelm*. So that in all probability, the Northern Nations (tho' they had several other Deities afterwards, as *Friga*, *Seater*, &c.) yet in the most Antient Times they worshipped G E A D or WOD, as their Supreme Deity; from which we have derived to us our English Word GOD. And the Name seems to be given from the Adjective *Good*, formerly *gead* or *gude*: drawn from the most principal Attribute of God, his Goodness. For not only in ours, but in other Languages, the Name of God is taken from some Attribute of the Divine Nature. The Hebrew Name is particularly remarkable above any others, because it is drawn from the very Original Nature and Essence of the Deity, or at least from his first great Attribute, his Self-existence. For *Jehovah* is but a Participle of the Verb *Haiah*, *fuit*, and denotes by way of Eminence the Being, or the who is, or as *Moses* expresses it in the first Person, the I AM, *Maim. More. Nev. c. 63.* In like manner the Greek *Θεός* is derived, ἀπὸ τῆς θεάσεως from Seeing, being a Name given to the Deity from his Providence.

Having thus spoken of the word God, we must now consider what is meant or signified by it. As it is impossible to give an adequate Definition of God, so we cannot but acknowledge that all Men, who either own a God, or deny such a Being, do grant that the common Notion which Men have thereof, is, That he is a Being of infinite Perfection, the Cause of all other Beings, and on which they do depend for their Conservation and Government. And therefore both Heathen and Christian Philosophers do take in the complex Notion of all of these Ideas, or some of the principal of them, whenever they describe the Deity or Supreme Being. *Thales* calls him the πρῶτον ὄν: The oldest of all Beings, *Laert. in vit. Plato* calls him the Θεὸν ἀμύνην πάντα θύειν καὶ φύειν: The God that made all things i. at are born and die, *Plat. Soph.* He elsewhere describes him by a Proverbial Speech in use among the Greeks: ὁ μὲν ὃς Θεὸς ὅπως καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτήν καὶ μέσσην ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων: for God, according to the antient Adage, has in his Power the beginning, the end and the middle of all things, *Plat. de Leg. Lib. 4.* He elsewhere calls God the ὄντων ὄν: the really Being: the αὐτὸ ὄν the Being it self, *Plat. de Leg. Aristotle* says, αἰτίον πάντων ὧν καὶ ἀρχή: That he is the Cause and Beginning of all things, *Met. Lib. 1. c. 2.* *Theophrastus* calls him, Θεῶν πάντων ἀρχή, δι' ἧς ἀπαντα καὶ εἰσι καὶ διαμένει: The Divine Principle by which all things are, and are preserved, *Theoph. Metaph. Cap. 1.* In like manner the ancient Christian Writers. *Deus plenæ & perfectæ divinitatis*

nitatis est nomen: the word God denotes a full and perfect Divinity, Hil. de Trin. Lib. 11. And thus St. Austin, Sic intelligamus Deum quantum possumus, sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia Creatorem, sine situ presentem, sine habitu omnia continentem, sine loco ubiq; totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine sui ulla mutatione mutabilia facientem, & nihil patientem. Let us understand God as much as we are able, good without Quality, and great without Quantity, a Creator without Want, present without Sight, containing all Things without Habit, being all every where without Place, eternal without Time, making things Changeable without Change of himself, and suffering nothing. Aug. de Trin. Lib. 5. From hence it appears that the generality of Men have fixt and settled Notions of the Nature of the Deity. And therefore Sallustius the Philosopher says very well. Κοινὰ δὲ εἰσὶν ἐννοιαί, ὅσας πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἐραῖοντες ὁμολογῶσιν εἶναι ὅτι θεὸς ἀγαθός, ὅτι ἀπαθής, ὅτι ἀμείβεσθαι. There are some common Notions, which all Men being asked will agree in, viz. that God is good, impassible, and unchangeable. Sallust. de Dii & Mundo, C. 1. He does not mean any innate Notions and Propositions, in a true and proper manner inscrib'd upon the Mind, (for that is a Modern Fancy of the Schools) but some general Notions which all Men have of the Deity, which they readily assent to whenever any Discourse is had of the Divine Being; all or most of which they join together to frame their Idea of it.

The Arguments which have forced the Assent of all Men, in the several Ages of the World, for the Acknowledgment of such a Being, are these.

I. Argument for the BEING of a God, from the Necessity of a first Cause. The first is drawn from the Causality of things. For we cannot assign any thing but which was caused by another, and that by a third, the third by a fourth which had its Existence before all of them, 'till we come up to some first Cause which had no beginning and no Cause of it. For if it has any Cause, it is not the first Cause; but another prior Cause must be sought for: neither can it be a Cause to itself, for that implies many Contradictions, as its not being at all, and yet being a Cause; as being before it self as a Producer, and yet as not being till afterwards as the Produced: or as supposing the greatest Contradiction of all, that nothing which has no Causality can produce something. Therefore there must be one first Cause, which never was produced, and this is what we call GOD. This is the Reasoning of that great Master of Reason, Aristotle, ὅτι ἀρχὴ τις καὶ ἡ ἀπείρα τὰ αἰτία ἢ ὅλων. There must be one first Principle, the Causes of Things not being infinite. Arist. Met. Lib. ii. c. 2. This Argument is so admirably strong and cogent, that Proclus grudges the Aristotelians the Honour of it, and says it was spoiled by them, by their admitting too much of Fortune in the Production of things. Μόρος δὲ ὁ Πλάτων τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ἐπόμενος πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον, ὡς αἰτίας γινέσθαι φησὶν ὁρθῶς ἐμαρμόνην ἐπισήσαι τῆς γινομένης καὶ θεῶν. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ διαπαράμυθα τὰ γινόμενα ἢ καὶ διὰ πολλὰ ἐκ πολλῶν αἰτίων γίγνεται ἄλλων ἄλλως ποιόντων. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἐν αἰτίων ἢ ποιόντων συναγωγὴν καὶ συλλαβὴν. For Plato alone following the Pythagoreans, says, that all things were made by a certain first Cause, setting a God and a Providence over all things that are made. For tho' there be many things that are of a diverse Nature, and therefore arise from many Causes, of which some have a different Effect, yet there is one Cause which collects these Efficients into one. Procl. 2. in Tim.

II. Argument, from the Direction of things to a proper end. The Second great Argument for the Being of a God, is drawn from the Direction of all things to a proper End. Now whereas we find that every part of Nature, which we are capable of observing, is suited to some very wise end and purpose, which it could not be if it had its Being from Chance or Necessity; therefore we must conclude, that there was some wise Orderer of these things, which so excellently adapted them to these several purposes. This Argument will have the utmost force of Demonstration, if we take a view of the several works of Nature, which are so fitted to their particular Ends that they serve for, that better means cannot possibly be contrived. Can any thing be better contrived than the Air for Breathing, or the Sun for conveying Light and Heat? Or will any say that they were not made for these ends? But not to go further than the frame of our own Bodies, the Natural Philosophers have shewn the wise Ends, for which the several Parts thereof are fashioned. Our Skin is contrived (as Aristotle says) πρὸς τὴν φύλαξιν τῆς συνέχειας, to be Case to

inclose the several Parts within. Arist. de part. An. Lib. I. c. 8. That ἡ τε φλέψ ἢ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ μὴ συνεχὴς πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῇ αἷμα, Unless the Veins were distinct and close all along from their beginning, they could not contain the Blood, ib. cap. 9. That the Tongue is particularly figured πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αἰσθάνειν, for tasting the Food, and especially in Man is made tender and broad, πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διακρίνειν, for framing the articulate Sound of Words, ibid. Lib. II. c. 7. That the Teeth are ἐν τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἐργασίᾳ, for the Business of chewing the Food, ibid. Lib. III. c. 1. in some Animals θοδίας χεῖρας, instead of Weapons for their Security, ibid. That the Foreteeth are made ὥστε ἵνα διακρίνῃ, sharp to divide or chop off the Food which is to be taken into the Mouth: That the Cheek-teeth are made πλατεῖς ἵνα λεάνωσι, broad to grind the Food after it is taken in, ibid. To omit innumerable other Arguments drawn from the use of the other Parts of the Body, by the Physiologists and Anatomists. Now since these things were all contriv'd, and adapted to their respective Ends by some wise and powerful Being, this can be no other than what we call God.

Another Argument is drawn from the admirable Beauty of the Construction of the Universe, the excellent Subordination from the beautiful Harmony of its Parts, all contributing to the Well-being and Regularity of the whole; which being a System of such a surprizing Art and Wisdom, could not be framed but by such a Wise and All-powerful Being as we call God. Divines and Philosophers have filled their Books with Instances, which illustrate and inforce this Argument. Cicero forms this Argument thus, Si est aliquid in rerum natura, &c. If there be any thing in Nature, which the Mind of Man, which human Reason, Force and Power cannot do; there is certainly something which does it greater than Man. But the heavenly Bodies and indefinite Order of their Revolutions, could not be caused by Man: There is therefore something by which they are done greater than Man. And what shall I call this but God? — An vero si domum magnam, &c. If you behold a great and a fine House, tho' you do not see the Master of it, you cannot be brought to think, that this was built by Mice and Weasels: And shall not you seem mad to imagine, that this gallant Ornament of the Universe, that this so great a variety and beauty of the heavenly Bodies, the Power and Greatness of the Seas and the Earth, is only a House for you Men, and not rather the Building and Seat of the Immortal Gods? Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. II. Sextus Empiricus urges the same Argument, with great Beauty and Strength thus. Ὡς περὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς Τροίας, &c. If any one sitting on the Top of the Trojan Mount Ida, shall see the Army of the Greeks marching over the Plain with great Beauty and Order, first the Horsemen and Chariots, and then the Foot; will not he immediately think, that there was some Person who marshalled them into this Order, and who having Command over the Soldiers disposed them so Beautifully; as suppose Nestor or some other of the Heroes, who knew,

Κομῆσαι ἵππους καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπίδωτας,

To range the Horses and the shielded Men?

In like manner if any one who has any Knowledge of maritime Affairs, shall see at a distance a Ship sailing with a brisk Gale, all her Sails expanded, he will conclude, that there is a Pilot who directs her, and carries her to the designed Port. So they who look up to Heaven, and take a view of the Sun δέμιος καθύπερθε (the Psalmist's very Expression) like an Athletick running his Stadium from East to West, together with the well-measured Dances of the Stars, will they not look out for some Author of all this beautiful Order, not thinking that it come to pass by Chance, but that it was contrived by some better and immortal Being; which is God? Sext. Emp. contr. Dogm.

Another Argument for the Being of a God, is drawn from the Consent of all Nations. Tully says, Inter omnes omnium gentium sententia constat: omnibus enim innatum est, & in animo quasi insculptum, esse Deos. This is a Truth which is manifest from the Opinion of all Men: for it is an innate Principle, and as it were engraven in the Mind, that there is a Deity. Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. II. And Seneca, Nulla gens usquam est adeo contra leges moresque projecta, ut non aliquos Deos credat. There is no Nation so devoid of Laws and Morals, as not to believe there are no Gods. And thus Maximus Ty-

ἐς πάντων πατὴρ καὶ βασιλεὺς. And afterwards, Ταῦτα ὁ Ἕλλην λέγει καὶ ὁ Βάρβαρος. &c. You may observe one uniform Law and Reasoning all the World over, that there is one God, the Father and King of all — This is acknowledged both by Greek and Barbarian, &c. Max. Tyr. Diss. 1. This is very good Evidence of the Reality of a Supreme Being, and whether we ground it upon Tradition, or universal Principles of reasoning, it is a better Foundation to rest upon, than the fanciful Speculations of some particular private Persons, who are more liable to be mistaken, than the most learned and wise Men of all Nations, and all Ages of the World; and who probably could not have all fallen into the uniform Opinion of a Divine Creator and Governor of the World, unless he had been pleased some time or other in the early Ages of the World to have revealed it to them, which they readily at first embraced, and afterwards tenaciously adhered to, finding it so highly agreeable to their Reason. It avails little to say, that there may be a stupid Clan or two of barbarous People, who have very little of these Notices. For the Observation of such Peoples Practices and Opinions may not have been exactly enough made by those Traders who have made these Reports, for want of their *Lingua*, and by reason of their short and imperfect Conversation with them: Or however, were the Observation true, the contrary Opinion of a few stupid People, who are almost degenerated into Beasts, is but a sorry Pretence to set up against the Judgment of so many civilized Nations, in so many successive Ages of the World, confirmed by the Reason of so many wise and learned Men who have been educated in them.

Another Argument for the Being of a God, is drawn from the Checks of Conscience in wicked Men, after the Commission of any great Sin. *Conscientia* (says Tully) *est grave pondus: Conscience is a heavy weight.* Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. III. 'Tis an excellent saying of Menander,

Ὁ συνιστοῦν αὐτῷ τικάν ἢ δεσύνταί ᾧ
Ἡ σύνεσις αὐτῷ δειλότατον ἔν ποιεῖ.

For, tho' the Criminal be ne'er so bold,
Conscience will make him fear —

To the like purpose *Isocrates*. Μηδὲν ἀποκρύπτεις, μηδ' ἂν κέκτησθαι, μήθ' ἂν ποιεῖς, μήθ' ἂν μέλλεις πράττειν, εἰδότες, ὅτι περὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἡμεῖς περὶ γράμματα, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ πολλὰς φόβους γίνεσθαι. Let not any one hide what he unlawfully does, or possesses, or designs to do, knowing that such Secrets must produce a great many Fears. *Isocr.* in *Nicoc.* Now since all Men are in fear of an Avenger of secret Actions, it follows, that they stand in awe of a God, whose All-searching Eye they cannot shun, and whose Justice they are liable to; tho' their Craft, or Subtilty, or Power, has set them out of the reach of human Cognifance.

There is another Argument drawn from the Maxims of the Platonick Philosophy, which may have its weight with speculative Genius's. And that is this. Since the Ideas of things are different from the things themselves, and had a Being before the things were, namely, in the Mind of him that formed them: and since there are a number of Relations and Correspondencies, which they bear to one another, which are Eternally true; as for instance, there never was a time in which it would not have been true to have said, *A Man is a Rational Animal*, That the outward Angle of a Triangle is equal to the two internal Opposite; Therefore there must of necessity be a Mind to which these Ideas must from all Eternity have existed in, and in which these Eternal Truths must have been lodged. For thus *Alcinous* the Platonick argues. Ἐστὶ γὰρ μὴν ὁ ὁ Κόσμος μὴ ἐκ ταυτομάτης τοιαύτης εἶναι, ἐ μόνον ἐκ τινός ἐστι γεγόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τινός, καὶ ἐ μόνον τῷτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τι. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὃ γεγόνος, τὸ ἂν ἄλλο γέγονεν ἢ ἰδέα. If the World be not by Chance, it is made not only out of something, but by some one. And not only so, but is made after somewhat. But that somewhat after which it is made, what can it be but the Idea of it?

a One.] The Articles not only affirm the Being of a God, but also declare the several Attributes, which belong to him. Which Attributes are not distinct Beings really different from the Divine Essence, but different Excellencies, Properties, or ways of Opera-

tion, by which the Divine Nature is pleased to display it self to us. These Attributes some of the antient Hereticks, as the *Enomians*, were wont so to confound with the very Divine Essence, as not to allow them to be distinguished from it, even by the Mind or Understanding. Others, as the *Anomeans*, made them Parts and Branches of the Divine Nature, out of which the Deity was as it were composed, as of integral or constituent Parts. To both which the Orthodox Writers of the Church with good Reason opposed themselves. For thus St. Cyril, Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ὅσα προσῶναι λέγεται κατὰ οὐσίαν τῷ Θεῷ, ταῦτα πάντες, ἔσαι αὐτῷ καὶ οὐσία λέγεται λέγειν αὐτῷ τῇ οὐσίᾳ συμβεβηκότα μέχρι μόνης φωνῆς, ἔτω νοούμενα. καὶ ἔχει γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρώπου φύσις μετ' ὅν τι ἥ καὶ ἐαυτὴν λέγειν ἐπὶ θεῷ. διὸ δὴ τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἔθεσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κεχρημένα τὰ καὶ ἐαυτῶν, μετ' ὅν ὑπόδειγμα ποιούμενοι ὥστε οἱ ἐν μικρῷ πίναντες ἢ ἐσθίων καταγεύοντες κύκλον. All things which are in God, and which are predicated of God, do not signify his very Essence: it remains therefore, that we call them a sort of Accidents, because they are distinguishable by the Mind as such. For human Nature cannot say any thing greater of the Divine Nature, than it is in its self. Wherefore in speaking thereof, we use our own common ways of Expression, thereby making a faint Representation of greater things: as those who describe the Circle of the Heavens in a little Table. Cyr. Thef. 31. And Gregory Nazianzen, shewing the blasphemous Consequences of the *Anomean* Opinions, says, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον, καὶ τὸ ἀκακον καὶ τὸ ἀνωλόισον, οὐσία θεῷ· ἀλλ' εἰ τῷτο, πολλὰ καὶ οὐσία θεῷ καὶ ἑ μίαν ἢ σύνθετον ἐκ τέτων τὸ θεῖον, καὶ γὰρ ἀσυνθέτως ταῦτα ὥστε οὐσία.

The first of these Divine Properties or Attributes here mentioned is God's *Oneness*, or *Unity*. This Attribute is a Corollary or Consequence of the Self-existence of God, or his being the first or Original Cause of all things; for as it is necessary that there must be something which was eternally Existent without having any Cause, so there is no necessity of there being more than that one Cause, which being the Fountain of all Causality does necessarily include Unity. But the Ancient Christians, who vindicated this Attribute of the Deity against the Heathen Idolaters, made use of more popular Arguments, that were better accommodated to the Capacities of ordinary People, and were for the most part as strong and conclusive.

The first was drawn from the Opinion of the wisest and most learned of the Heathen themselves. As that of *Orpheus*, *Unity of the Deity proved from the Testimony of the wisest Heathens.*

Ἐἷς ἐστ' αὐτογένης· ἐνὸς ἐκγονα πάντα τέτυκται
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίγνεται· ἐδὲ τις αὐτὸν
Εἰσορᾷ θνητῷ· αὐτὸς δὲ γὰρ πᾶντας ὁρᾷται.

There is one Self-existent God, who made
All things that are; his own great Self being in them:
Invisible to all, yet seeing all Things.

Those noted Verses of *Sophocles* are quoted by most of the Apologists upon this Head.

Ἐἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν· εἷς ἐστὶν θεός·
Ὅς οὐρανὸν ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρόν,
Πόντες τε χερσὶν οἶδμα καὶ ἀνέμων βίας·
Θνητοὶ δ' πολλοὶ καρδίαν πλανώμενοι
Ἰδρυσάμεθα πημάτων παρὰ ψυχῆς,
Θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων
Ἡ χρυσοτεκτων, ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύποι,
Θυσίας δὲ τύτοις, καὶ καλά πανηγύρεις
Τεύχοντες, ὥτως εὐσεβῶν νομίζομεν.

There is but One in Truth, One only God
Who did create the Heav'n and the wide Earth,
The boistrous Waves of Sea, and force of Winds.
But foolish Mortals have, instead of these,
Made to themselves, for solace of their guilt,
The Images of Gods, of Stone and Wood;
Or Statues made of Gold, or Ivories white.
To these they Sacrifice, to these they Festal Days
Do dedicate: And this they call Devotion.

To the same purpose *Hesiod*.

Αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς, καὶ κοίρων ἐστὶν
Ἀθανάτων· ὃν ἔτ' εὐρήσεις Θεὸς ἄλλος.

He is the King of all, the Sovereign of th' Immortals,
Nor can there any other God be found than He.

The

The same was the Doctrine of the great Father of the Ethnick Philosophy, Socrates, who died a Martyr for this Truth, as Cicero says; *ab Anyto quodam Divite & Melito Poeta & Lycone Oratore accusatus quasi Deos communes non coleret: being accused by a certain strict Man called Anytus, by Melitus a Poet, and Lyco an Orator, because he did not worship the ordinary Gods.* Cic. de Or. Lib. 3. His Opinion of the Deity, and that of his Scholar Plato, is thus related by Plutarch. *Σωκράτης ἡ Πλάτων τὸ ἐν τῷ μονοθεῖ καὶ αὐτοθεῖ, το μοναδικῷ, τὸ ὅτιως ἀγαθόν.* Socrates and Plato taught, that the Deity was a single Self-existent Being, of one simple Nature, truly Good. Plut. de Plac. Phil. But not to enter into a long detail of Citations out of the ancient Philosophers and Poets; any one may observe in reading the Books of not only Plato, but Aristotle, Tully, Seneca, &c. that when they speak strictly and philosophically of the Deity, they use the word God, as we Christians do, in the singular Number; and, when they mention the word Gods in the plural, they only accommodate themselves to the Language and Capacity of the Vulgar whom they conversed with. So that unless we will Balance the Opinion of the Rabble against the Doctrine of the most wise and learned Men of the several respective Ages, we have the Testimony even of Heathen Antiquity on our side, for the Unity of the Divine Nature.

Another Argument for the Unity of the Deity is drawn, from the Incongruity of the Divine Power being communicated to more than one God; because this would infer several infinite Powers, and infinite Goodness's: For if one of them had all Power and all Goodness, the other would have no Power and no Goodness at all. For thus Athenagoras. *Εἰ δὲ δύο ἢ ἀρχαί, ἢ πλείους ἦσαν Θεοὶ, ἥτοι ἐν ἐνὶ, καὶ ταυτῷ ἦσαν, ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν. ἐν μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ, καὶ ταυτῷ ἔναι ἐκ ἐδύνατο. καὶ ἂν οἱ Θεοὶ, ὁμοιοῦνται, ὅτι ἀγέννητοί τε καὶ γεννητοί, ἐκ' ὁμοιοῦνται τὰ μὲν δὲ γεννητὰ, ὁμοία τοῖς παρὰ φύσιν. τὰ δὲ ἀγέννητα, ἀνόμοια, καὶ ἂν ἀπὸ τινος, ἢ τε πρὸς τινα γινόμενα.* If from the beginning there were two or more Gods, they were either conjoined in one and the same Nature, or they were singly separate. They cannot have one and the same Nature: For the Gods are not alike. For some of them are unborn, and some of them born; and therefore not alike. Those that are unborn are unlike, as neither produced by any one, nor according to any exemplar. Athen. Seq. pro Christ. In the like manner Lactantius argues, *Si plures partiantur orbem, minus virium singuli habebunt, cum intra praescriptam portionem se quisque contineat. Eodem etiam modo Dii, si plures sunt, minus valebunt, aliis tantundem in se habentibus; If more Governors should divide the World between them, each of them would have less Power, because they would have a limited Power. In the same manner the Gods, if there be a Plurality of them, will not have an omnipotent Power, each of them having but a share of it.* Lact. Inst. Lib. 1. And again. *Si autem [Dii] sunt multi, dum habent singuli potestatis aliquid, ac numinis, summa ipsa decrescit: nec poterunt singuli habere totum, quod est commune cum pluribus; uniuersum tantum decrit, quantum ceteri possidebunt. If there are many [Gods] whilst each of them have some Power or Portion of the Deity, the Total of the divine Power will be lessened: for each of them cannot have the whole which is common to more: for so much will be wanting to every one which the rest possess.* Lact. de Ira Dei, cap. 2.

Unity of the Godhead, proved from the Contrariety of the Wills of different Gods. Another Argument for the Unity of God, is taken from the Contrariety of Judgment and Will, which must necessarily be, in a supposed Plurality of Gods; and the hurry and tumult which would from thence arise in the Government of the World. For thus Athanasius argues. *Καὶ ἡ τάξις ἡ αὐτὴ τῆς διακοσμήσεως, καὶ ἡ τῶν πάντων μετ' ὁμοιοῦντος ἀρμονία, καὶ πολλὰς, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀρχολογία, καὶ ἡγεμονία δεικνύσι λόγον, ἐκ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἕως ἡμερῶν πολλοὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἀρχοῦντες ἐσάξωσι ταύτην τάξιν τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ' ἢ πάλιν ἀταξία πάντα διὰ τὰς πολλὰς, ἑλκὸς ἐκείνου πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν βέλυσιν πάντα, καὶ μαχομένη πρὸς ἑαυτήν. For from the Order of Administration, and the Harmony of Consent, the Scripture shews, that there are not many Gods, but one Ruler and Governor of the World. For if there were more Governors of the World, the Order of all things could not be preserved. But all things would be out of Order by reason of those many Governors, one drawing all things to his Will, and opposing the other. Athan. contr. Gent. Both this and the former Argument are joyned together in these Verses of Prudentius.*

*Aut unus Deus est, rerum cui summa potestas,
Aut quia jam duo sunt, minuantur dispare summo;
Porro nihil summum, nisi plenis viribus unum.
Distantes quoniam, proprium dum quisque; revulso
Vindicat imperio, nec summa nec omnia possunt.*

*The Chief God must be One: for were there two
Chief Deities, Omnipotence it self would lessen;
God therefore must be One, with plenitude of Power.
For different Gods would always be a scrambling
For Rule, and none of them possess Omnipotence.*

Prud. in Hamartig.

b Living.] This Title of Living is added here, in the Enumeration of the Divine Attributes, because in the holy Scriptures it is so frequently ascribed to God, in Opposition to the Heathens, who gave this Title to their Idols, who were inanimate and senseless Gods without Life. For nothing was more common, not only among the vulgar Heathen, but among their Writers, to call an Image a God. For so Horace.

*Olim truncus eram ficulnus; inutile lignum
Cum faber incertus, scamnum faceretne Priapum
Maluit esse Deum.*

*I was a Fig-tree's Stump, that sorry Wood:
The Carpenter uncertain what to make me,
Whether a Bench, or Image of Priapus,
At last he'd have me be a God. — Hor. Lib. I. Ser. 8.*

To the like propose Martial.

*Qui fingit sacros auro vel marmore vultus,
Non facit ille Deos: qui rogat ille facit.*

*He that of Gold or Marble makes an Image
Don't make them Deities, but their Votaries Prayers.
Mar. Lib. VIII. Ep. 44.*

Upon this account Moses distinguishes the true God from the fictitious Deities and dumb Idols of the Heathens, by the Name of the living God. *Ye have heard the Voice of the living God, Deut. v. 26. So Josuah, Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among us, Jos. iii. 10. And David, Who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the Armies of the living God? 1 Sam. xiv. 26. It was also a Custom among the Jews to Swear by the living God. As the Lord liveth, &c. 1 Sam. xiv. 39. 1 Sam. xix. 6. xx. 21. xxvi. 10. 1 Kings ii. 24. 2 Kings v. 20. The same form is used by the Jews, when they put any to their Oath by way of Adjuration, as appears clearly by the Oath put to our Saviour at his Trial. I adjure thee by the living God. Mat. xxvi. 23. And as the Jews thought this the most sacred and binding of all Oaths, so they did not think the swearing by any other Oath, or at least by any of the Heathen Deities, binding. As appears by that of Martial, concerning a Jew.*

*Ecce negas jurasque mihi per templa Tonantis
Non credo: jura, verpe, per Anchialum.*

*Tho' you deny and swear by th' Thunderer's Temple,
I don't believe you, Jew; swear by Anchialus.*

Mart. Lib. xi. Ep. xcv.

Which is a plain Allusion to the Jewish form of Swearing, *Chaielohim*, or *Chaieloha*, as the Lord liveth, or as they then pronounced it *Chiala*; from which the Poet formed the word *Anchialus*.

But when Life is ascribed to God, it must not be understood any new Vigor added to the Deity, or ascititious Act joined to his Essence, as when one is added to one it makes two: or any Effect resulting from a Soul added to his Being, as the Life of Man is, the Separation of which occasions Diffolution or Death: or any thing which depends upon a prior Cause for its Original or Conservation, as the Life of Angels does: but the Divine Nature it self considered as eternally perceiving and enjoying its own Excellence and Good, independent of any other Cause, but continuing by its own Power, without any decay or diminution. Upon which account God is said in a peculiar manner, beyond any of his Creatures, to live in Scripture, *I live for ever, Deut. xxxii. 40. Who liveth for ever and ever, Rev. iv. 9. Who only hath Immortality, 1 Tim. vi. 16. Who giveth to all things Life, Breath, and all Things, Acts xvii. 25.* Hence some

lasting, without Body,
Parts, or Passions; of

lasting without Body,

incorporeus, impartibilis, immensæ potentia.

some of the Fathers call him *αὐτοζών*, who has Life in himself, and communicates it to all others. *Dion. Areop. de Div. Nom.* cap. ii. Sect. 8. And in this Sense Life is an incommunicable Attribute of God, which none of his Creatures do partake of.

c True.] God is said to be True in several Respects.

What is meant by the TRUTH of God. 1. With relation to the Reality of his Deity, in opposition to the feigned Gods of the Heathens. And in this respect he is mostly called in Scripture by the Title of the *true God*. *The Lord is the true God*, Jer. x. 10. *This is eternal Life to know thee the only true God*, John xxvii. 3. *Ye turned to God from Idols, to serve the living and true God*, 1 Thess. i. 9. 2dly, In Respect of his Intellectual Truth, or the exact Conformity of his Understanding to the true nature of Things; by which he is incapable of all Error or Mistake or change of his Judgment. 3dly, In respect of his Moral Truth or Faithfulness. Hence he is called *the God of Truth*, Psal. xxxi. 5. *the Lord holy and true*, Rev. vi. 10. *Abundant in Goodness and Truth*, Exod. xxxiv. 6. *God is not a Man that he should lie, neither the Son of Man that he should repent, hath he said and shall not he do it?* &c. Which is agreeable to what Plato says concerning both the Intellectual and Moral Truth of the Divine Nature. 'Ου γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ ἐ- γεκα θεὸς ψεύδοιται; &c. Κομιδὴν ἀρεῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀπλῶν καὶ ἀλη- θείας, ἔντε ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ· καὶ ἔτε αὐτὸς μετρίσεται (forte με-θοδεύεται) ἔτε ἄλλως ἑξαπαλά· ἔτε καὶ φαισάσιαι, ἔτε καὶ λό- γους, ἔτε καὶ σημειῶν πρόμπαας, ἔθ' ὕπαρ, ἔδ' ὄναρ. *For, what rea- son is there that God should lie?* [he having shewn before that he has no one to fear, no one who can oppose or contradict him.] *God is simple and true, both in Word and Deed; he is neither himself changed [or deceived] nor does he deceive others; neither by false Appearances, or Revelations, or by Signs, or Visions, or Dreams.* Plat. de rep. Lib. ii.

d Everlasting.] Our English word Everlasting here used does answer to the Greek *αἰών*, and the Latin *aeternus*; and does denote something that has lasted or continued before the present time, and will last or continue to all Eternity after it; for this is the true Notion of Everlastingness or Eternity. So Origen defines Eternity, *Aeternum proprie dicitur quod neq; initium ut esset habuit, neq; cessare unquam potest esse*. That is properly said to be Eternal, which never had a beginning to be, and can never cease to be. Or. Periar. cap. 3. The Reasoning of Gregory Nazianzen, as well as his Eloquence, upon this Head is very just. *Διχῶς τε ἀπείρου θεωρούμενος καὶ τε ἀρχὴν, καὶ τέλος, &c.* Infinite time is considered in a twofold respect, namely with relation both to beginning and end, &c. *ὅταν μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀνω βύθον, &c.* For when the Mind looks back into the profound Abyss of time past, and cannot tell where to set her Foot, relying upon its imaginations which it has of the Deity, at length it gives a name to this interminable tract of time which it cannot go over, and calls it without beginning; and when it descends to the lower or future times, she calls it immortal, and which never hath an end; and when she has joined both together, she calls it Eternal, Naz. Orat. xxxviii. The like Description the Apostle gives of Eternity, having neither beginning of Days, nor end of Life, Heb. vii. 3. So that when we speak of God's being Everlasting or Eternal; we mean he had eternal Existence without any Beginning, and shall continue in the Possession of it without end.

Now that God was eternally Existent without Beginning, may be proved, Because he is the first Cause of Things. For if he never was caused or produced, he must always be. Upon this reason is grounded that Answer of *Thales* in *Plutarch*. Τὴν πρῶτον ὕψιστον ; θεός, ἔφη Θάλης. ἀγέννητον γὰρ ἔσι. *What is the oldest of all Beings ? God, says Thales, because he never was produced.* Plut. in Convivio. So likewise *Philo* argues from the necessary Connexion between Uncreatedness and Eternity. Γενήτης, ἔδειξεν ἀληθεῖα Θεός, ἀλλὰ, δόξη μόνον, τὸ ἀναγκαστικόν ἀνασχερμένον αἰδιότητι. *No one that was ever created can in truth be a God, but only a Titular one, wanting that which is necessary to the Godhead, Eternity.* Philo de Philaut.

God's future Eternity is demonstrated, Because there is no Power Superior to him to destroy his Being; Therefore, as the Divine Nature now is, and always was, so it must always be. Upon which account *Plato* says, *τὸν μὲν αὖ γένεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἔχειν, αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὄν.* That which was always and never had a beginning, must always continue in the same manner, *Plat.* in *Tim.* And so *S. Austin* Reasons: *Summum bonum quo superius non est, Deus est: & per hoc immutabile bonum est: & ideo vere æternum ac immortale.* The chief Good which has no Superior is God; who for this reason does admit of no Alteration, and consequently is Eternal and Immortal. *Aug.* de Nat. boni. contr. *Manich.* 'Tis upon Account of this Attribute, which is so essential to the Divine Nature, that the Holy Scripture does so frequently join this Compellation to the Name of God, The Eternal God, *Deut.* xxxiii. 27. The King Eternal, *1 Tim.* i. 17. The everlasting God, *Gen.* xxi. 33. The everlasting Father, *1c.* ix. 6. Everlasting King, *Jer.* x. 10.

c Without Body, Parts.] There was a stupid sort of Hereticks which started up in Egypt about the latter end of the fourth Century, who contended that God was of Human Shape, grounding their ridiculous Opinion upon that Passage of Genesis, Let us make Man after our Image, and upon the Eye, Hand, &c. of God being frequently mentioned in Scripture, Socr. Lib. vi. c. 7. Soz. Lib. viii. c. 11. But these Passages of Holy Writ may easily be accounted for, by saying that by the first is understood the rational Soul of Man, which bears a nearer Similitude to the Deity, than any other Parts of the Creation. And that by the Eye of God is meant his Providence, by the Hand of God is meant his Power, &c. which was occasioned by the narrowness of the Hebrew Tongue, which wanted words to express abstracted Notions, and which were afterwards coined in those Nations where the Pagan Philosophy was cultivated. And the Hebrew Critics lay down several very excellent Rules for the understanding any of these Metaphorical Expressions in Scripture, and for reducing them to a strict and proper Sense. Vid. Maimon. More Nevoc. Lib. 1. Buxt. Lex. in voce יד. The belief of God's Incorporeity is so fundamental a Part of Religion, that God in his Revelation to the Jews made it one of the first Precepts of the Jewish Religion not to make any Image of him, lest it should lead them into the gross Error of the Idolatrous Heathen Nations, of God's being of an Human Shape or any other Bodily Figure, Exod. xx. Dent. iv. 12. And our Saviour informed us, whilst he was teaching us the Doctrines of Christianity, That God is a Spirit, John iv. 24. We likewise are instructed by Reason, that God is an Incorporeal Being, which the Ancients draw from several very Excellent Topicks.

(1.) From the Superior Excellency of a Mind beyond that of Body; now since these are the two great Classes to which all Beings are reduced, it is necessary, that God who is the most perfect of all Beings should be a Mind rather than a Body. For thus *Maximus*

Tyrinus argues, Πῶ τοῖνον τῆτον τὸν θεὸν
τάτλωμεν; πότρεα ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπισμῳ; ἀλλὰ εὐφημεῖν ἄξιον.
λείπεσαι δὴ ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἀναδιδασσάμεναι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν
θεὸν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τὸν νῦν αὖ τὸν ἀρχηγικῆς. *Under
which rank of these shall we place God? Among the crowd of
Bodies? God forbid. It remains therefore, that our Dissen-
tation place him, as in the highest Tower of Beings, a Mind
the chief Governing Principle of all, Max. Tyr. Diss. 1.
(2.) Because Corporeity would be incon-
sistent with the Simplicity of the Di-
vine Nature. For thus a learned Pla-
tonick argues upon this Head. Ἐν γὰρ
σῶμα ὁ Θεός, ἐξ ὕλης ἂν ἦν καὶ εἰδός. διὰ
τὸ πᾶν σῶμα συνδυασμὰ τι εἶναι ἐκ τῆς
ὕλης, καὶ τῆ συνδύμῃ εἰδους, &c. ἄτοπον δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐξ ὕλης εἶναι
καὶ εἰδους, ὃ γὰρ ἐστὶ ἀπλῶς, ἐδὲ ἀρχικὸς. If God were a Body,
he would be compounded of Matter and Form, because every
Body is a Composition of these Two, &c. But it is absurd*

infinite Power, Wis- Parts, or Passions, of ^sinfi- sapientie & bonitatis,

to say God is compounded of Matter and Form; for then he would neither be a Simple, nor yet the primary Being, &c.

Alc. c. 10. (3.) Because Corporeity does infer a Capability of Dissolution, which is repugnant to the first Notion of a God. For thus Alcimus

reasons. *Κι γδ ε σωμα εστι θεος, η οθαελος εστι η μεταβλητος. εκασον δε των ατοπον επ αυτη.* If God were a Body, he would be subject to Corruption, and Generation, and to Change. But 'tis the greatest Absurdity to attribute any of these to him, Alc. ibid. The same Argument is prosecuted with greater force by Gregory Nazianzen. *Πως γδ σαρξ, ο περιγεγραπτον; η πως φευξεται το εν σοιχειων συσχεσθαι, η ως αυτα παλιν αναλυεσθαι, η ολας λυεσθαι; συνθεσις γδ αρχη μαχης: μαχη δε διασάσεως: ηδε λυσεως: λυσις δε αλλοτριον πανη θεω, η της πρωτης φύσεως. εχον διασασιν, ινα μη λυσις: ηδε μαχη ινα μη διασασιν: ηδε συνθεσις, ινα μη μαχη. δια τουτο ηδε σωμα. ινα μη συνθεσις.* How is God worthy of Adoration if he be a circumscrib'd Body? And then how shall we avoid saying that he is compounded of the Elements, and is resolved into them again, and consequently wholly dissoluble? For Composition is the Cause of Strife, Strife of Division, and that of Dissolution. But Dissolution is incompatible with the Nature of God, and the first Cause. Therefore there is no Division in the Divine Nature, because there can be no Dissolution; nor Strife, because there is no Division; nor Composition, because there is no Strife: and therefore God has no Body because he has no Composition. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxxiv.

[Passions.] Altho' the Holy Scriptures do frequently represent God as being subject to such Emotions of Mind as we commonly call Affections or Passions, as when he is said to Love, to Fear, to Hate, to be Angry; yet we must understand these Expressions as being Condescensions made to our Capacities, and are only Representations of the Tendencies of the Divine Will, by the Idea we have of our own Inclinations. But when

it is requisite to speak more strictly concerning the Divine Nature, the Holy Scripture perfectly excludes from it, all the Perturbation and Commotion of Human Affection, making God devoid of all Affection or Passion properly so called. For thus Samuel speaks of God. *The strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a Man that he should repent,* 1 Sam. xv. 29. So God himself in the Prophet Hosea declares against his having any vindictive Temper in him, like that of Man, *I will not return to destroy Ephraim: for I am God and not Man,* Hof. xi. 9. The same is deducible from the Dictates of human Reason, which cannot possibly conceive a God, but it must at the same time conclude that he is not subject to the Uncertainties and Fluctuations of Passion. This the Ancients argue from several very proper Topicks.

Proved from the Dignity of the Divine Nature.

1. From the Perfection and Dignity of the Divine Nature, which is too great and excellent to submit to the Weaknesses and Wants and Changeableness which Passion does imply. The very Epicureans, who had the grossest Thoughts of any of the Philosophers concerning the Deity, could nevertheless acknowledge that the Divine Nature could not be subject to Passion.

Quicquid enim Divinum natura necesse est, &c. Nam privata Dolor omni, privata periculis Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri Haud bene promeritis capitur, nec tangitur ira.

For what so e'er's Divine

— Must be from Fears and Dangers free, Sufficient to its own Felicity:

Must nothing want; nor joyously be glad

For well-done Acts; nor storm against the bad.

Lucret. Lib. 1.

Plato, who always speaks very justly concerning the Deity, says. *Θεον μιν γδ δη τον τελειον εχοντα της θεας μοιρας, εξω των ειν λυπης η ηδονης: το δε σπονιν η γινωσκων καλα πατα μετισταθηναι.* God, who is endowed with the Divine Nature, must necessarily be without either Grief or Joy:

exercising a most perfect Wisdom and Understanding. Plat. Epim. Athanagoras does with great Strength of Reason expose the Heathen Theology. *Και τοι ει σαρκωδεις μινον ελεγον αυτες η αμα εχον η παρμα η παδη οργης η επιθυμιας. η τε εδαι λησιν, η γελωτ λογος τες τοιζων ετε γδ οργη ετε επιθυμια η ορεξις, εδε παροδοιον παρμα το θεω.* But if they shall say they are of a fleshy Nature, and that they have Blood and Seed, and are subject to the Passions of Anger and Desire, this is Trifling and Ridiculous; for in God there is neither Anger, nor Lust, nor Desire, nor Child-begetting Seed. Athan. Leg. pro Christ.

2. They argue the same from the Immutability of the Divine Nature, and the most absurd Consequence which would ensue thereupon, a tendency to Dissolution and Destruction. Sallust reckons it as a *χονιν ερροια*, a common Maxim that which all Mankind agree in, *ως πας θεος απαλη: οτι αμεταβλητος.* &c. That God is without Passions, and unchangeable, &c. Sallust. de Mund. The Absurdity of attributing Passion to the Deity, is thus urged by Arnobius. *Ubi est ullus affectus ibi necesse est esse Passionem. Ubi passio fita est, perturbatio est consentaneum est consequi. Ubi perturbatio ibi dolor & agritudo est, immutatio & corruptionum locus est. Quae duo si vexant, adest vicinus interitus, mors omnia finiens, & cunctis adimens sentientibus vitam. Where there is Affection there must needs be Passion. Where Passion is settled there must of course be Perturbation. Where there is Perturbation there must be Grief and Pain. Under the vexation of which, Dissolution must be nigh, and Death which makes an end of all, and puts a period to Life.* Arnob. contr. Gent. Lib. 1. To the same purport Lactantius. *Pertinaciter meminisse convenit nos, semper universos animorum affectus ignotos Divi esse; consentaneum est credere nunquam Deos irasci — quicquid enim vexatur rei alicujus, e motu passibile esse constat, & fragile, quod Passioni fragilitatque subiectum est, id necesse esse mortale. Ira autem vexat, & patientes se solvit. Ergo esse mortale dicendum est, quod passionibus subiectum est.* We ought constantly to remember, that all Affections are for ever unknown to the Gods; and that 'tis agreeable to believe that the Gods are never angry — For whatsoever is disturb'd by any thing, it is plain from the Perturbation that it is passible and fragil, because it is subject to Passion and Fragility, and must therefore be mortal. But Anger disturbs, and tends to the Dissolution of those who suffer by it. Therefore that must needs be Mortal which is subject to Passions.

[Of infinite Power.] The Holy Scripture is very express in setting forth this great Attribute of God. He is called *God Almighty*, Gen. xxxiv. 2. it is there said that he can do every thing, Job. xlii. 2. that with God nothing shall be impossible, Luke i. 37. with God all things are possible, Mat. xix. 26. that he is mighty in Strength, who hath hardened himself against him? Job. ix. 4. Thine, O Lord, is the Greatness, and the Power, and the Glory, and the Victory, and the Majesty, &c. Chron. xxix. 2. O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this Potter? saith the Lord. Behold as the Clay is in the Potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel. Jer. xviii. 6. Besides this, there are several Arguments used by the Ancients, which do either prove or confirm this principal Attribute of God.

1. The first is drawn from his being the great Creator and Governor of the World, to which such a plenitude of Power is necessary, both for the first producing it, and afterwards for the keeping it in good Order. And this is that, which the Ancient Poets do so frequently insist upon; thus he is called in Orpheus his Hymns, *πασσινδκτης*. The Mover of all things, or Director of them at his Pleasure. Homer calls him

— πατην ανδραντε θεωντε.

The Father (i.e. The Creator and Governor) of Gods and Men.

And elsewhere speaking of God's Almighty Power, he says,

— Αλλ' αiei τε σους κρεισων νοος ηε απ ανδραν. Il. η.

That his determination can over-rule Mens Actions.

Pisa

Of God's Intellectual Wisdom, or his Knowledge.

In speaking of which it will be requisite to Observe,
 God's KNOW- 1. That the Understanding of God is
 LEDGE dif- a thing vastly different from our Un-
 ferent from ours. derstanding both in Nature and Manner
 as well as in Degree. For in us Un-
 derstanding is a Quality, which Improves

and Exerts it self gradually, and in short is something new
 superinfused upon the Mind; but God who is one pure
 simple Act cannot admit of any such Habit, and therefore
 the Knowledge of God is only the very Essence of God
 considered as Knowing or Understanding. So that on this
 Account, Aristotle argues very justly, that if God's Un-
 derstanding were a Habit, ἐυλογον ἐπιστονον εἶναι τὸ συνεχές
 αὐτῷ τὸ νοήσεως, his perpetual Cogitation (or thinking of such
 a number of things together) would be laborious to him.
 Arist. Met. 12. Cap. 9. And thus Plotinus. Δεῖ δὲ
 νῦν λαμβάνειν, ὅτι περὶ ἐπαληθεύσομεν τὸ νόηματι, μὴ τὸ δύνα-
 μεν, μηδὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρεσσύνης εἰς νῦν ἐλθόντα. Ἐν δὲ μὴ, ἄλλον
 πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ζητήσομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνεργεῖα καὶ αἰεὶ νῦν ὄντα.
 εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐπακτὸν τὸ φρονεῖν ἔχει. If we would speak pro-
 perly, we ought not to consider the Divine Mind as a Ha-
 bit, or as making a Progress from Ignorance to Knowledge.
 For then we must seek out further for some other Mind. But
 we ought to consider it as a Mind which is in Act, and al-
 ways in being. For otherwise it would have an Ascensions
 Understanding, i. e. it would be beholding to something
 without to perfect it. Plot. Enn. v. Lib. 9 c. 5.

II. That God has a perfect Know-
 ledge of all things that have a Being;
 and 1st, of the most transcendent of all
 Beings, Himself. For, as Alcinoüs says,
 ἐπεὶ δὴ ὁ πρῶτος νῦν κάλλιστος, δεῖ καὶ κάλλιστον αὐτῷ νοητὸν
 ὑποκείμενον εἶναι τὸ καλλίον· αὐτὸς ἂν ᾖ, καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ
 νοήματα αἰεὶ νοοῖν. Forasmuch as the first Mind is the most
 excellent, it is necessary that that, which is the most excel-
 lent, should be the Object of its Understanding. But nothing
 is more excellent than its self, therefore it must understand
 its self and its own thoughts. Alcin. c. 10. And to the like
 purpose Plotinus: ὅταν αὐτὸ τὸ αὐτὸν νοῦν, ὁ δὴ καὶ κυεῖται δεῖ
 νοεῖν: when God contemplates himself, then he is most pro-
 perly said to understand, Plot. Lib. V. c. 13. 2dly, Of
 all other things. (1.) Because of the admirable Penetrati-
 on of the Divine Nature, and the inherent Light and
 Clearness of its Understanding. From this Topick Philo
 reasons thus. τῷ ὃ Θεῷ, ὡς ἐν ἀνυψῇ καθαρά πάντα ἀει-
 δηλα, καὶ ὃ ἄχει ὅς τε ψυχῆς μυχῶν φάσας, αἱ τῆς ἄλλης
 δεῖν ἀρετάς, τηλαυγῆς πέφυκε καθαρά, καὶ προσηλός, καὶ
 προσηλὸς χρώμενος, οὐκ ἔστι ἀρετῆς, εἰδὲν ἀπελευθεριάζειν, καὶ
 ἔξω τὸ αὐτοῦ ματυρήσας βαίνειν εἰς ἐπιδήσαντες εἰς ἡ ὅς μελ-
 λόντων ἀδελότης αὐτῷ συμβαλὴν εἰδὲν ὃ ἀδελόν, ὅτε μέλλον
 δεῖ Θεῷ εἶναι. All things are manifest to God as in a pure
 Light. For penetrating to the inward parts of the Soul, he
 by his own Nature clearly sees things which are unobserva-
 ble by others: and making use of his Wisdom and Provi-
 dence, and proper Excellencies, suffers nothing to pass by and
 to escape his Understanding. Forasmuch as the Obscurity of
 future things is obvious to him. For nothing is uncertain or
 future to God. Phil. Lib. de Immutab.

Dei. (2.) Because all things are pre-
 sent to him. And to this Head relate
 those Orphick Verses.

Ὅμμα μέγα τρομαίνον· ὃ καὶ γαῖαν ὑπέρβηεν
 Λύσσει, καὶ πόντον μέγαν εὐθὺν, ὅσα τε κεύθει
 Νῆς μερόπων· τέμνει δ' εἰδὲν χεῖρ· ἄλλα πάρεστι
 Πάντα Θεῷ.—

Let's tremble at that mighty Eye, which looks
 Into the Ground, and over all the Ocean;
 Which sees what Men desire to conceal;
 Whose Sight no time impairs: for every thing
 Is present unto God.—

Upon which Consideration the Egyptians framed their
 Hieroglyphical Representation of the Deity, hanging up
 in their Temples Eyes and Ears of Gold, to denote that

God sees and hears all things. Clem.
 Alex. Lib. V. Strom. (3.) Because all things
 are made and preserved by God, who
 upon that account must most intimately
 know them. For thus Ammonius in his

Commentary upon Aristotle's Book of Interpretation writes,

Ἄλλ' ἀγνοεῖν μὲν εἰδὲν ὅντων αὐτὸς ἐνδέχεται, τὰ πάντα
 παρῶντας τε, καὶ διαδοσμέντας. The Gods cannot be ig-
 norant of any things that are, since they produced them and
 put them in order. And thus St. Clement of Alexandria
 excellently speaks. Κινδυνεύουσι τοίνυν οἱ φάσκοντες, &c.
 They that say that Philosophy did not come hither from God,
 seem to say that 'tis impossible that God should see all things:
 and that he is not the cause of all good things, if they be
 particulars. For 'tis plain that nothing can be without the
 Will of God. But if all things are by his Will, then Phi-
 losophy is from God, who would have it be as it is for their
 sakes, who would upon no other account abstain from evil.
 For God knows all things, not only those things which are,
 but those which are to come; and how every one of these is:
 foreseeing all their particular Motions, provides for all things
 and hears all things; seeing the naked Mind of every one,
 has an eternal Understanding of all particulars. And, as
 it is in a Theatre, where People see distinctly all that is be-
 fore them and about them; so it is in God; ἀθεῖος τε ὃ
 πᾶντα, καὶ ἐκασον ἐν μέρει, μὴ περισβολῇ περισβλέπει; He sees
 all things at one view, and every particular thing with the
 same glance of his Eye. Clem. Al. Lib. VI. Protr. There-
 fore it is greatly to be wondered at, how it should enter
 into the Thoughts of so learned, and in some things so
 acute a Man, as St. Jerom, to deny the Knowledge of
 God as to all the particulars of Nature. Absurdum est
 (says he) ad hoc Dei deducere majestatem, ut sciat per mo-
 menta singula quot nascantur culices, quotve moriantur, quæ
 cimicum & pulicum & muscarum sit in terra multitudo,
 quanti pisces in aqua natent; & qui de minoribus majorum
 prædæ cedere debent. It is absurd to bring down the Majesty
 of God to take notice, how many Gnats are every moment born,
 or die; what number of Gnats or Flies there is in the World;
 how many Fishes swim in the Sea; and what little Fishes
 are to be a prey to the greater. Hier. in 1. Cap. Habac.
 Now take this, either to relate to God's Knowledge, or
 Providence, it is certainly a very irreligious Thought:
 and 'tis much the Atheists do not defend this Paradox of
 his, after the Example of some others who have vin-
 dicated his Fancy of the Identity of the Orders of
 Bishops and Presbyters. But it is no wonder, that this
 Father should depreciate the Dignity of Bishops, when he
 has made so bold with the Omniscience of Almighty God.

III. God has a perfect Knowledge of
 all future Contingents. This some of the Heathen Philosophers denied, but
 Knows all future
 the Heathen Philosophers denied, but Contingents.
 others with greater force of Reason
 maintain'd. Cicero, or at least his Interlocutor, in his Book
 of Divination, was of the negative side. Nihil enim est
 tam contrarium rationi & constantiæ, quam fortuna: ut mihi
 ne in Deum quidem cadere videatur, ut sciat quid casu &
 fortuito futurum sit. Si enim scit, certe illud eveniet. Sin
 certe eveniet, nulla fortuna est. Est autem fortuna: rerum
 igitur fortuitarum nulla est præsentio. There is nothing so
 contrary to Reason and Constancy, as Fortune: So that I do
 not think it is in the Power of God, to know what casual
 things shall come to pass. For if he does know them they
 will certainly come to pass: If they certainly will come to
 pass, then there is no Fortune. But there is Fortune, there-
 fore there is no knowing fortuitous things. Cic. de Div.
 Lib. II. The force of this Objection will be hereafter an-
 swered in a more proper Place. In the mean time let us
 see what Arguments there are to evince the Truth of
 God's knowing future Contingents.

1. This a Truth confirmed both by the Doctrine and by the Predictions of
 the Predictions in
 Holy Scripture. From the Prophet Scripture.
 Isaiah we learn, that this Knowledge is
 one of the Characteristics of the true Deity. For thus,
 insulting the Heathen Deities, God speaks. Shew the things
 that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are
 Gods, Isa. xli. 23. And again, I am the first and I am the
 last, and besides me there is no God. And who, as I, shall
 call and shall declare it, &c. and the things that are coming,
 and shall come? If. xlii. 6, 7. The Sins of the Jews are
 foretold, If. liii. 1. Our Saviour foretels his Passion, Mat.
 xx. 17, 18. and that he should be betrayed by Judas, Mat.
 xxvi. 21. That Peter should deny him thrice, Mat. xxvi.
 34. The coming of false Prophets is foretold, Mat. xxiv. 5.
 1 Tim. iv. 1. and of Anti-Christ, 2 Thess. ii. 3, &c.
 The same Truth is evinced by Reason.
 (1.) Drawn from the Excellence of the Divine Mind, the want of which Qua-
 lification would argue great Imperfecti-
 on, which in all Thoughts and Words
 relating to the Deity ought to be avoid-
 ed.

the Maker and Pre- Goodness, the ^k Maker omnium, tum visibili-

ed. For thus *Origen*, Τὸ χαράσσειν καὶ θεοποίησθαι ἢ πρὸς μελλόντων ἐπαγγελία. *The foretelling of future things is the Characteristick of the Deity.* Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. vi. And in another Passage of his, cited by *Eusebius*, ὅτι μὲν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐσομένων πρὸ πολλοῦ οἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκων, καὶ χωρὶς μὲν γραφῆς, αὐτοῦθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐννοίας τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ δῆλον τῷ συνιέντι ἀξίωμα δυνάμεως τοῦ Θεοῦ. *That God does fore-know every thing which is to come, altho' the Scripture said nothing of it, yet this would be manifest from the Notion of God, which every one must acknowledge, who Understands the Dignity of the divine Power,* Euseb. *Because he makes* de Præp. Lib. vi. (2.) *Because God makes and orders all things, and therefore cannot but know their future Conditions.*

For thus *Ammonius* the Philosopher reasons. Πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκων μὲν πάντα τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐσομένα, καὶ μέλλοντα, τοῖς θεοῖς περὶ ἑκάστην αὐτῶν ὁδὸν καὶ αἰσμένην, καὶ ἀμεταβάτην γνῶσιν. Διόπερ καὶ ἐνδεχομένων περιηγήσεται ἡ εἰδήσις, ὅτι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ παρὰ γινόμενα. *It must be said that the Gods do know all things, that have been, and are, and shall be, in that manner which is agreeable to the Gods: that is, by one defined and immutable Knowledge. And therefore they must be endowed with the Knowledge of Contingents, as those who produce all things that are in the World.* Ammon. in Com. de Lib. Arist. de Interp. To the same purpose *St. Ambrose*. Ideo non potuit Creator omnium ignorare quod fecit, nescire quod donavit. Novit ergo diem qui fecit, &c. Ergo qui fecit quæ futura sunt, eo genere quo futura cognovit. *The Creator of all things cannot be ignorant of what he has made, and not know what he has given. Therefore he knows the day which he made, &c. Upon the whole, he who made those things which are to come, knows them, in that manner that futures are known,* Lib. v. de fide, c. 7. (3.) *He knows these by an infallible Knowledge, not from conjecture.* For thus *Ammonius* argues. Γινώσκων μὲν τοῖς τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα κρείττονος καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων φύσεως. Διόπερ ταῦτα μὲν ἀόριστον ἔχοντα καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα δύνασθαι τε καὶ ἐκβαίνειν, καὶ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν ἐκείνους, ὅτι καὶ κρείττονος, καὶ φύσεως αὐτῶν καὶ γνῶσιν περιηγήσεται αἰσμένην καὶ ταῦτα εἰδέναι. *The Gods know Contingents in a more excellent manner, than according to their Nature. For since they have an undefined Nature, and may happen or not happen, they (the Gods) in a more excellent manner than this, have an anticipated Knowledge of them, and know them definedly.* Ammon. ibid. And so likewise *Plotinus*. Καὶ ἡ γνῶσις τῶν μελλόντων ἔστιν αὐτῶν συσχεσθῆναι παρὰ γινόμενα, καὶ ταῦτα ἂν εἴη, οἷα τοῖς μάντεσι πάρεστι, ἀλλ' οἷα αὐτοῖς τοῖς ποιῶσι τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνους ὅτι ἐσθαι. Τὸ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πάντα κινέουσιν, οἷς ἔστιν ἀντίθετον ὅτι ἀμφοτέρωθεν. ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀρᾶς ἢ δόξης τῶν παρὰ γινόμενα ἢ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ καὶ περὶ μελλόντων φρονήσεως. οἷα καὶ ἡ περὶ παρόντων κατὰ τὸ ἐσθαι. *The knowledge of future Events, if they [the Gods] have it, is not such as that of Conjecturers, but like that of those who have a firm persuasion that a thing shall be. For this is of those who have all things in their Power, to whom nothing is uncertain or doubtful. For with them there is a steady Knowledge of Futures, as well as Presents, as to their Stability.* (4.) *That this Knowledge is not inconsistent with the freedom of human Will. And this, 1. because God does not so much determinably will things to be future, as he looks upon them in their future state as present; which Intuition does not lay any force upon Man's Will. For thus Boetius argues upon this Point. Atqui Deus ea futura, quæ ex arbitrii libertate proveniunt, præsentia contuetur, Hæc igitur ad intuitum relata divinum, necessaria sunt per conditionem divine notionis: per se vero considerata, ab absoluta nature sue libertate non deficient. God looks upon those futures which depend upon the Liberty of the Will, as things present. Therefore these things as they relate to the Divine Knowledge are necessary; but considered by themselves, they do not vary from the absolute Liberty of their Nature.* Boet. & Conf. Lib. v. 2. *Because to foresee is not to determine, as Origen excellently well Reasons.* Πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν οἷα ἀποκρίσθαι ἐπὶ ἀλλοῦ, &c. "To whom we answer, That, when God designed to make the World out of No-

thing, he took a view of all things, and saw this was to be, and this was to be consequent upon it. But if this come to pass, then that will follow: But if this be so, something else will happen. And so going on to the end, he knows whatever things shall come to pass: but yet not so, as to cause those things which he knows to come to pass. As he that sees that one who walks carelessly will slip, his looking on and foretelling his Fall is not the cause of his slipping: So it must be understood, that God does foresee whatever each Person will do, but his looking on is not the Cause of this Man's doing ill, or that Man's doing well.

Of God's Wisdom in the Disposal and Ordering of things.

I need not here speak much concerning this Branch of the Divine Wisdom, because I shall have occasion to insist more fully of it in treating of Providence in the Note 1. I shall only observe, (1.) That this Attribute is frequently ascribed to God *WISDOM* of in holy Scripture. *He is mighty in God proved from Strength and Wisdom,* Job xxxvi. 5. *Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever, for Wisdom and Might are his.* Dan. ii. 20. Particularly with relation to the Creation of the World. *O Lord how wonderful are thy works, in Wisdom hast thou made them all,* Psal. civ. 24. *Who hath established the World by his Wisdom, and stretcheth forth the Heavens by his Discretion,* Jer. x. 12. And so with relation to the Redemption of the World. Upon this account Christ is called the *Wisdom of God,* 1 Cor. i. 24. And the Gospel is called the *Hidden Wisdom of God, and the manifold Wisdom of God,* Eph. iii. 10. Nay, Wisdom in Scripture is in a peculiar manner ascribed unto God, as in a true and proper manner belonging to no one else. The Consideration of this made *St. Paul* to cry out, *O the depth of the riches, both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God,* Rom. xi. 33. and to say, that the *Lord knoweth the Thoughts of the wise that they are but vain,* in comparison of the Divine Wisdom, 1 Cor. iii. 20. (2.) The same is deducible from human Reason. Because the want of Wisdom would argue a great Imperfection; and it would be the highest degree of Arrogance for

Want of this would imply the greatest Imperfection in the Deity.

Creatures to claim Wisdom to themselves, and to deny it to their Creator. Besides, if this Perfection were wanting in God, the rest of his Perfections would be to little purpose. For what would signify infinite Power, to be able to do all things, and to want Wisdom to Conduct those mighty Actions? This would only serve, to fill the whole Creation with Irregularities and Blunders, and set all things jarring and fighting with one another. What would it signify, to know the respective Natures and Tendencies of all things, and not to be able to dispose them to wise and good purpose? This would occasion such untoward Combinations of Causes and Effects, as would put the whole World into disorder. But when infinite Wisdom is joyned with the like Knowledge and Power, it cannot but produce that Harmony and Regularity, which are observable in every part of Nature, and in every Branch of the Divine Providence.

[i Goodness.] The Goodness of God does denote all that is Excellent, Holy, and Bountiful in the Divine Nature. Therefore his Goodness is branched into these three Parts, 1. His Metaphysical Goodness, i. e. his Excellency, or Perfection. 2. His Moral Goodness, i. e. his Purity or Holiness. 3. His beneficial Goodness, i. e. his Bounty or Favour to his Creatures, particularly to Mankind.

Of God's Metaphysical Goodness, or his Excellency.

The Name of Good in Scripture is generally applied to God's Moral or Beneficial Goodness, but his Metaphysical Goodness or Essential Perfection is usually expressed by *Excellent*, Gen. xv. 7. Psal. cxxxviii. 13. Psal. cl. 2. Is. xxviii. 29. or *Great*, Deut. x. 17. Chron. xvi. 25. Psal. xlviii. 1. Job xxxvi. 26. Jer. xxxii. 18. tho' perhaps that Passage of our Saviour may be interpreted in this Sense, *None is good save one,* Luke xlviii. 19. none has an original, inherent and perfective Goodness, or an Accumulation of all Excellencies, but God. Now this Branch of the Divine Good-

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐὰν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸς, ὡς ἀγαθὸς ἀνθρώποις, ὥς ἀπο-
καλύπτει ἀποστόλῃς τοῦ Θεοῦ. He is a Fool and void of Mind
and Sense, who says there is no God. And like to him, and
little different from him in Folly, is he that says God is the
cause of Sin. And I think the Crime of both of these is
equal; because both of these do deny the good God: he po-
sitively denies his Being, the other denies him to be Good.
For if he be the Author of Sin he is not good. Wherefore
both of these Opinions is a denying of God. Bas. Hom. Quod
Deus non est Causa, &c.

III. That he will not suffer Sin, or the Violation of his Laws, to go unpunished; nor Virtue, or the diligent Observance of them, to be unrewarded. This branch of the Divine Goodness is generally called God's JUSTICE. And this is evidently proved out of Holy Scripture. As for God's vindictive Justice we learn that from Rom. i. 18. The wrath of God is revealed from Heaven against all Ungodliness and Unrighteousness of Men, who hold the Truth in Unrighteousness. And so Eph. v. 8. This ye know that no Whoremonger, nor unclean Person, nor covetous Man, who is an Idolater, hath any Inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ and of God. We are likewise therein sufficiently informed, It is a righteous thing with God to recompense Tribulation to them that trouble you: and to you that are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels. 2 Thes. i. 6, 7. Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the Righteous Judge shall give me at that Day. 2 Tim. iv. 8. God is not Unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love. Heb. vi. 10. This, indeed, is not strictly due to our Merit, nor does it flow as an Original Debt from the Divine Justice, but follows only from God's gracious Promise, which he has engaged himself, that he will bestow upon us; and therefore only consequentially, by virtue of that and our performing the Conditions of the Covenant on our side, he stands obliged to confer it upon us. This is shortly summed up by St. Basil. Ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη ἐρανθεὶς ἐπα-
γομένη παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου κριτοῦ, ἢ τε ἐπαγομένη καὶ ἡ ἀποδοτική.
There is Justice sent down from Heaven by the righteous Judge; the one Punitive, the other Distributive. Bas. in Prov. To the same effect Clemens of Alexandria. Τὸ μόνον δίκαιον μέτρον, ὁ μόνος ὁρτὸς Θεός, ἵστος αἰὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀσάμετος ἔχων, μέτρεται πάντα καὶ σταθμᾷται οἷον τε τρυφᾷ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, τὰς τῶν ὄλων ἀρετὰς περιλαμβάνων καὶ ἀνέχων εὖσιν. There is one just measure, which is the only true God, who is always equal and the same, who measures and weighs all things by his Justice, as in a Balance, and exactly scans the Nature of all things. Clem. Alex. in Protrept.

IV. That God is not disposed, to inflict that extremity of Punishment, which his Justice might strictly demand of Men, for their Sins, whilst they are capable of growing better. This branch of the Divine Goodness is called his MERCY. Now because, in this State of Imperfection, it is impossible for us to perform an unfinishing Obedience, and our manifold Violations of God's most Holy Laws do expose the best of Men to his Justice; therefore it has pleased God, for our Comfort, to reveal to us this his gracious Disposition, to rescue us from this Misery, which our Sins make us liable to, upon our complying with those Conditions which he has made known to us by the Gospel. This gracious Disposition of the Divine Nature, which is an admirable Temperament of God's Justice, is styled in the Scripture Language his Mercy; being a Metaphor drawn from that Tenderness, which we find in our human Nature, when we have a miserable or distressed Object before us. And we learn (1.) That there is such an Affection in the Divine Nature, whereby he is inclined to rescue us from the Misery and Punishment entailed upon Sin. God who is rich in Mercy, for his great Love wherewith he loved us, even whilst we were dead in Sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, Eph. i. 4, 5. Who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous Light: which in times past were not a People, but are now the People of God, which had not obtained Mercy, but now have obtained Mercy, 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10. Be ye merciful as your Father in Heaven is merciful. — Who according to his abundant Mercy has begotten us again unto a lively hope, 1 Pet. i. 3. (2.) That this Life is the only proper time for exerting God's Mercy, his Justice being to be display'd most in the other. This is evident

from the whole Tenor of the Gospel, and the Apostolical Writings, which are designed to exhort Men to make their Peace with God, and to make the best Preparation for another World, during their stay in this. But more especially the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, and that of the wife and foolish Virgins, with our Saviour's most admirable Discourse thereupon, of Mens final Doom being awarded at the Resurrection, Mat. xxv. are Demonstration to Christians, that this Life only is the Time for God's Mercy; at least, as far as Revelation has informed us thereof. Upon which St. Cyprian well remarks. Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam Penitentiae locus est, nullus satisfactionis effectus hic vita aut remittitur aut tenetur, hic salutis aeternae cultu Dei, & fructu fidei providetur. When we depart hence there is no room for Repentance, and Satisfaction will have no effect; here Life is either lost or gained, here, by the Worship of God and the Fruit of Faith, provision is made for our Happiness for ever. Cyp. contr. Demetr. And to the same Sense St. Austin. In quoque tempore invenerit suus novissimus Dies, in hoc dum comprehendet mundi novissimus Dies: quoniam qualis in die isto quisque moritur, talis in die judicii judicabitur. In that State which every ones last Day finds him, in that shall the World's last Day take him: such as in that Day he dies, such in the other Day shall he be judged. Aug. Epist. xxviii. ad Hesych.

Of God's Beneficial Goodness.

This is the most delightful and amiable to us of all God's Attributes, because it comes to us fraught with such innumerable Kindnesses and Favours, which our natural Self-love will help us on to admire and adore. The Prophet Zachary does with great Elegance represent this Affection of God, as the Beauty of the Deity. How great is thy goodness, how great is thy Beauty, Zach. ix. 17. Now that this admirable Affection does belong to Almighty God, we shall prove from these following Topicks; from Scripture: from Reason: from Experience.

I. In the most early Revelation made by God to the Jews, he notifies his Name to Moses by this Characteristic, the Lord God gracious and merciful, long-suffering and abundant in GOODNESS. Exod. xxxiv. 6. The Psalmist describes God thus, Thou art Good and doest Good, Psal. cxix. 68. O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good. Psal. xxx. 7. Mat. vi. 26. Psal. viii. 6. Acts xiv. 17.

II. Our Reason shews us, That this is an Affection which is most justly to be ascribed to Almighty God. (1.) Because this is a Notion which Men so naturally have of God, that the very Heathens could not help the attributing it to the Persons whom they Worshipped for the Supreme God. Wherefore Ζεὺς ὤψις μαγνὰς, Jupiter the Good, the Great, was the Title given by the Greeks to Jupiter, and among the Latins, Jupiter Optimus Maximus. (2.) Because this is the chiefest of God's Excellencies, which sweetens and tempers others, that viewed singly by themselves, look of a rougher and harsher Nature. For what would be Almighty Power without Almighty Goodness, but only an infinite Tyranny, which all indeed must Obey, but no one could Love? Infinite Wisdom would only be an all-over-reaching Craft, unless Goodness inclined to pursue no Methods, but kind and good ones, to bring about its ends by. On occasion of which Reflexion, Seneca advises, that Men should *Dis reddere majestatem suam, reddere Comitatem, sine qua nulli Majestas: Should ascribe Majesty or Greatness to the Gods, and Goodness, without which there can be no true Majesty, or Greatness*, Sen. de Benef. (3.) Because there is something of this Perfection observable in God's Creatures, which does very much raise their Character, and make them beloved and valued, and therefore it must necessarily be, in a most Eminent Degree, in the Creator himself. This Novatianus, or the Author of the Book of the Trinity, argues from the Goodness of the whole Creation. *Dei Bonitatis testis est totus mundus, quem non instituit, nisi bonus fuisset. Nam si omnia valde bona, consequenter & merito, & quae instituta sunt bona bonum Institutorem probaverunt. The whole World is the Witness of the Goodness of God, which he had not made, had he not been good. For if all things are very*

good

good, by consequence, and with very good Reason, they prove the Maker of them to be good. De Trin. Cap. 4. But 'tis plain, even by the Expressions of the Heathen, that they naturally had the greatest Thoughts of God's Beneficent Goodness; by their styling those extraordinary Persons, who were Benefactors to them, by the Name of *Divi*, *ἡμίθεοι*, *Semidei*, *Θεοεικελούς*, &c. because they thought, that by reason of their Goodness and Beneficence, they resembled God, and were a sort of lesser Deities: which they would not have done, had they not thought that the Deity was in the highest degree Good and Beneficent.

III. Our Experience informs us, how highly we stand indebted to the Divine Beneficence. This the Ancient Divines and Philosophers have reduced to several Heads, according to the several Ways and Methods, by which we are befriended by the Divine Goodness. (1.)

Because he confers it without Compulsion. His beneficent Goodness is remarkably display'd, by the free Communication of it; whereas he might if he had pleased, being All-sufficient, have enjoyed his Happiness to himself alone. On this Account thus Hierocles expresses himself. *Διὰ αὐτὴν τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ εὖ ἢ παρὰ γοῦ. αἰτία γὰρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ποιήσεως ἡδεμία ἄλλη τρέσσειν βυλογῶ πλὴν ἢ κατ' ἑστίαν ἀγαθότητῃ; ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν φύσει ἀγαθὸς δὲ ἑδὼς περὶ ἑδὼς ἡδὲ ποτὶ ἐξυγίναται φθόβῳ. αἰ γὰρ ἡ ἀγαθότης λεγόμενα αἰτία τῆς δημιουργίας τῆς τε παντὸς ἀνθρωπίνης περιεσσεύει μάλλον, ἢ θεῶν πρέπουσι.*

By God's Goodness all things were brought to be good. For no other reasonable cause of the making of all things can be assigned, besides the substantial Goodness. For he was good by his Nature. But no Envy could at any time, upon any account, be in him. And whatsoever other causes are assigned, for God's making the World, they savour more of human Affections, than of God. Hier. in Aur. Carm. Pyth. But this was no more than what he learned from Plato, who on the same account speaks almost in the same words. *Λεγόμεν γὰρ ἦν αἰτίαν γένεσιν. καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ ζυνοῖας ζυνέσταν· ἀγαθὸς ἦν· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἡδὲς περὶ ἑδὼς ἡδὲ ποτὶ ἐξυγίναται φθόβῳ. τέττε δὲ ἐκτὸς ὧν, πάντα ὅτι μάλα ἐβελήθη γινέσθαι παραπλήσια αὐτῷ. Ταύτην δὲ γινέσεως κόσμος μάλας ἀνίς ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρ' ἀνδρῶν φρονίμων ἀποδεχόμεν, ὁρθότης ἀποδέχοιτ' αὖν. Let us enquire what was the cause which moved God to the making of the World. He was good. Now no Envy comes near Goodness. Being without this, he made all things like himself. This is the justest reason of God's making the World, which I have learned from wise Men, and which ought as a true one to be received. Plat. in Tim.*

Without prospect of Advantage. (2.) God Almighty bestows his Benefits upon us, without any prospect of Advantage to himself. For thus Plato remarks. *Πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνομεν, ἐκῶνοι δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἑδὲν. We receive all good things from the Gods, and they nothing from us. Plat. in Eutyphron.* And so St. Chrysostom. *Οὐδένος δέομεν ὁ Θεὸς τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς. ὅτι δὲ ἑδὼς ἡδὲ ποτὶ ἐξυγίναται φθόβῳ. ἐκ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα. ἐκ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα, πάλαι αὖν ἐποίησεν. God has made us without expecting any Advantage by us. For he has demonstrated that he did not want us by making us so late. For if he had wanted us he had made us long before. Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Phil. And to the like purport St. Austin speaks. *Non frui nobis Deum sed uti: nam si fruitur eget bono nostro, quod nemo sanus dixerit. God does not enjoy us, but makes use of us: for if he did enjoy us as a good to himself, he would stand in need of us, which no Man in his Senses will assert. Aug. de Christ. Doctr.**

(3.) God confers his Benefits upon us with the greatest readiness, without making us wait for them (like other Benefactors) and tiring us out with Expectations. This Observation is admirably well pursued by Seneca. Of Human Benefits he remarks this. *Plerisque hoc vitium est, &c. Most Men are faulty out of an evil Ambition in deferring their Promises, lest the crowd of their Addressors should be less.—They do nothing quickly, they do nothing at once. Their Injuries are very quick, but their Benefits are slow. Sen. de Ben. Lib. ii. cap. 5. But of God's conferring his Favours, he speaks thus. Quocumque te flexeris, ibi illum videbis occurrentem tibi: nihil ab illo vacat: opus suum ipse implet. Wheresoever you turn you, you shall find him meeting you: there is nothing void of him: he fills his whole work. id. Lib. iv. cap. 8. See the whole*

Vth and VIth Chapter of this Book.

(4.) Others are bountiful only to some few, but God is good to all. Who, as our Saviour remarks, *maketh his Sun to shine upon the evil and the good, Mat. v. 25. Seneca speaks to the same purpose, and almost in the same words. Si deos imitatis, da et ingratis beneficia. Nam et sceleratis Sol oritur, et Piratis patent maria. If you would imitate the Gods, do good turns even to ungrateful Persons. For the Sun arises upon the wicked, and the Seas are open to the very Pirates. Sen. de Benef. Lib. iv. cap. 26. (5.) Mens Benefits are conferred oftentimes by fits, as their Humour leads, or Opportunity serves them, but God at all times disperses his Favours. This is excellently well expressed by Gregory Nyssen. *Τὸ γὰρ ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀγαθότητῃς; τὸ μὴ μόνον πρὸς τι τὸ ἀφελίμον ἔχειν, μηδὲ κατὰ καιρὸς τινὰς ἢ ἐπαφελίς, ἢ ἀχρηστοῦ εἰσινέσθαι, μηδὲ τινὲ μὲν ἢ καλόν, ἢ ἐπὶ ἢ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλ' ὅπερ καὶ ἑαυτὴ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ἐστὶ καλόν, καὶ πάντι καὶ πᾶσι ὡς αὐτὸς ἔχει. Is there any mark of true Goodness? This is, not to be profitable only to some particular thing; not to be sometimes profitable and other times unprofitable; not to be good to one, and to another not so; but to be in its self and its own Nature good, to every one, and at all times. (6.) God's Benefits are in a peculiar manner extended to Man-kind. And this with Relation both to his Body and Soul. The Books of the Ancient Poets, and Philosophers, do abound with Observations on this Head. For thus Ovid.**

Because he is good at all times.

Because he is particularly bountiful to Mankind.

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit cælumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos, ad sidera tollere vultus.*

*Whilst other Animals look to the Ground,
He gave to Man a Face which upwards looks,
And bad him raise his Countenance to Heaven.*

Ovid. Met. Lib. i.

And thus Manilius:

*Quis dubitet posthac hominem conjungere cælo?
Eximiam natura dedit linguamque capaxque
Ingenium, volucrumque animam: quem denique in unum
Descendit Deus, atque habitat, ipsumque requirit.*

*Who then can doubt to join Man unto Heaven?
To whom a nimble Tongue Nature has giv'n,
A Wit capacious, and a sprightly Soul,
Into whose Breast alone God does descend,
And dwell therein; and does with Care look after.*

Manil. Lib. ii.

Juvenal makes the same Observation.

*Sortiti ingenium, divinorumque capaces,
Atque exercendis capiendisq; artibus apti,
Sensum a cælesti demissum traximus arce.*

*We have a Wit capable of things Divine,
For Learning, and for exercising Arts
Dispos'd: having a Soul from Heav'n descended.*

Juvenal. Sat. xv.

Cicero, in many places, employs his Eloquence upon the same Subject, in his Offices, Lib. i. de Finibus. Lib. v. but particularly in this Passage of his Book of Laws. *"Ipsum hominem eadem natura, non solum celeritate mentis ornavit, sed et sensus quasi satellites attribuit ac nuncios, et rerum plurimum obscuras et necessarias intelligentias enudavit, quasi fundamenta quadam scientie: figuramque Corporis habilem et aptam ingenio humano dedit. Nam cum ceteras animantes abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, et ad cæli, quasi cognationis domicilique pristini, conspectum excitavit. Tum speciem ita formavit oris, ut in ea penitus reconditos mores effingeret. Et oculi, quem admodum animo affecti sumus, loquuntur: et is, qui appellatur vultus, qui nullo in animante esse præter hominem potest, indicat mores". Nature has adorned Man not only with a ready Mind, but has likewise given him Senses to be as it were Centinels and Messengers for his use: has cleared up for him many obscure but necessary Problems as the Foundation of his Knowledge, has made the figure of his Body suitable*

suitable to his Wit. For when he had made other Animals look downward, to their Food, he raised up Man alone and made him look upwards, as it were to take a view of his heavenly Kindred, and his antient Habitation. Cic. de Leg. Lib. i. St. Chrysostom makes the same Observation, but draws a further Use from the erect Shape of Man's Body.

Οὕτως ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τέταται, ἵνα τὰ ἐκτὸς περισκοπῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις φιλοσοφῇ, καὶ ἐκείνα φαντάζηται, καὶ ὁ ὕψους ἐκείνου τὸ ὄμμα τὴν ψυχὴν. Man is made looking upwards to Heaven, that he may look about the things there, and Philosophize upon them, that he may make Observations upon them, and have the Eye of his Soul sharp-sighted. Chryl. in Psal. cxxi. And elsewhere he draws a like Consequence; viz. that Man should for this Reason, μὴδὲν πρὸς τὸ γῆιν κοινὸν ἔχειν, μὴδὲ κατὰ σὺνείδειν καὶ ἔρπειν, ἀλλ' ἀνω πέπτεται διηλεκτῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἥλιον καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπορεύει. That he should have nothing common with the Earth, that he should not be dragged or creep downward, but constantly fly upwards, and look up to the Sun of Righteousness, Id. Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. The same Father argues the Bounty of God, to Man, because all things are made for his Use. Ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα ζῶον καὶ θαύμαστον, καὶ τὴν κτίσεως ἀπάσης τῆς Θεοῦ τιμιώτερον, δι' ὃν ἔραται καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν τὴν κτίσεως σῶμα. Man is a great and an admirable Animal, more dear to God than all other Creatures, for whom the Heaven and the Earth and the Sea, and all the rest of the Creatures were made. Hom. ii. Tom. v. But the greatest Benefits of all, which God has bestowed upon Mankind, are those which he confers upon us, with relation to our Souls; the State of future Glory, which he has prepared for us, and the Methods of Grace in order to it. To omit the many Passages of Scripture, wherein this Truth is illustrated, and innumerable others in the Writings of the Fathers, let this Passage of Basil of Seleucia suffice. Διὰ σε Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, πνεύματι ἁγίῳ διανομῶν, θανάτου κατάλυσις, ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίς, θεῶν προσάγματα, τελειῶντά σε τὸ ζῶον, πορεία πρὸς τὸ θεὸν διὰ τῆς ἐντολῶν βασιλείας ἑραυρῶν εὐτρεπῆς, εὐφροσύνη δικαιοσύνης ἐπιτομή, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀρετὴν πόρος μὴ ἀποδιδόντι. For thee, O Man, God appeared among Men: for thy sake was the distribution of the Holy Spirit, the destruction of Death, and the hope of the Resurrection: the divine Commandments which perfect thy Life: the way to God by the Precepts of Religion: the Kingdom of Heaven was made ready, and the Crowns of Righteousness prepared, for those who do not decline to suffer for Virtue's sake. Bas. Orat. in Verba Mosis Attende tibi ipsi.

k Maker.] The words Maker of all things visible and invisible are taken out of the Nicene Creed as it now stands, or out of the Confession of Faith delivered by Eusebius to that Council: Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν καὶ τῶν ἀπείρων ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀόρατων ποιητὴν. We believe on God the Maker of all things visible and invisible. Socr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 7. ed. Steph. Bishop Pearson has remarked that this Expression is not found in many of the antient Creeds; but the Substance of it seems to be contained in the word παντοκράτωρ. But however Irenaeus makes it to be of Apostolical Tradition, Quia sit unus Deus omnipotens, qui omnia condidit per verbum suum—five visibilia five invisibilia, five sensibilia, five intelligibilia, five temporalia, five aeterna: That there is one Almighty God, who has made all things by his word—whether Visibles or Invisibles, whether Temporal or Eternal. Iren. Lib. i. cap. 19. And again, Unum Deum fabricatorem caeli et terrae—Ecclesia omnis per universum orbem hanc accepit ab Apostolis traditionem: That there is one God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth—the whole Church throughout the universal World has received it as a Tradition from the Apostles. Iren. Lib. ii. cap. 9. And the Profession of it seems to be grounded upon an Opposition,

God declared to be the Maker of the World, in opposition to those who held the Eternity of it.

But this was a mistaken Notion of God's communicative, or beneficial Goodness, or an undue Confusion of it with his Moral Goodness. For God is of necessity morally Good, because no time can be assigned in which he could have done Evil. But it cannot be said of his Beneficent Goodness, that he must always communicate it; for this would re-

strain his Liberty, when it does not imply Imperfection, which does as essentially agree to him as any other of his Attributes. Upon which consideration, Clemens of Alexandria thus argues, concerning the Deity. Ὡς τὸ πρὸς βούλησιν αὐτοῦ δημιουργεῖ, καὶ τὸ μόνον ἐθέλεισθαι αὐτὸν ἐπείγει τὸ γένεσθαι. God creates by his mere Will; and Production follows his willing it. Cle. Alex. in Protrep. Besides, the Absurdity of this Opinion is urged even by Philosophers of other Sects; as particularly, because no action of considerable Antiquity is remembered,

Præterea, si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terrarum et caeli, semperque aeterna fuere;
Cur supra Bellum Thebanum et tempora Troja
Non alius alii quoque res cecinere Poetae?

But grant the World Eternal; grant it knew
No Infancy, and grant it never new.
Why then no Wars our Poets Songs employ
Beyond the Siege of Thebes, or that of Troy?
Why former Heres fell without a Name,
Why not their Battles told by lasting Fame?

Lucr. Lib. v. ex vers. Creech.

And so again he argues from the late Invention of Arts.

Quare etiam quaedam nunc artes expoliuntur
Nunc aliam augefcunt, nunc addita navigiis sunt
Multa, &c.

And therefore Arts that lay but rude before
Are polish'd now, we now increase the Score.
We perfect all the old, and find out more:
Shipping's improv'd— Ibid.

2. In opposition to those Hereticks who pretended that the World was made either by Angels, or, as others of them more wickedly, by an evil Principle, or the Devil. Simon Magus, the Founder of this abominable Spawn of Hereticks, asserted ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσέβειας δημιουργηθῆναι τὸν κόσμον. That the World was made by Angels. Theod. Ep. Hær. Fab. So did Menander, Iren. Lib. i. cap. 21. Saturninus, id. Lib. i. cap. 21. as likewise the Basilidians, Theodor. de Hær. Feb. and Carpocratians Epiph. contr. Hær. Marcion taught, ἄλλόν τινα νομίζεν μείζονα τῶν δημιουργῶν θεῶν. That there was a God greater than he that was Maker of the world, Just. Apol. ii. And Cerdon taught that there were duos deos, unum bonum et alterum seculum; bonum superiorem, seculum hunc mundi Creatorem. Two Gods, one good, and the other cruel: the good the superior God, the other the Creator of the World. Tert. de Prefr. contr. Hær. But this was (as Irenaeus observes) not only a wicked but a foolish Reflection of theirs upon God's Omnipotence: Qui non credunt quidem, quoniam ipsam materiam, cum sit potens, et dives in omnibus Deus, creavit, nescientes quantum potest Spiritus et Divina Substantia: Who do not believe that God could make Matter, when as he is mighty and rich in all things, being ignorant of the Power of a spiritual and divine Substance, Iren. ad. Hær. Lib. ii. cap. 10.

3. In opposition to those Philosophers and Hereticks who asserted the eternal Pre-existence of Matter. For that many of them did so, St. Chrysostom does in a very few words inform us. Καὶ ἂν Μανιχαῖοι προσέλθῃ, λέγων τὴν ὕλην προπάρχειν, καὶ ἂν Μαρκίων, καὶ ἂν Οὐαλεντίνος, καὶ ἂν Ἑλλήνων παῖδες, λέγε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔρανον καὶ τὴν γῆν. Altho' the Manichee come and say, That Matter does Pre-exist, tho' Marcion and Valentinus, and the Greek Philosophers, tell them that in the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth. Chryl. Hom. ii. in Gen. But the Orthodox Christians always maintained, that the World was created by God out of Nothing, and not out of any Matter Pre-existing. And this Doctrine they grounded chiefly upon the word of God. For, tho' the word Barach in the first of Genesis, God created the Heaven and the Earth, does not in the strict Sense of the word denote a Creation out of nothing, it being used promiscuously with the word gnafar and gnatzar, which signify to make or to form any thing, tho' out of preceding Matter; yet that God did Create the World out of nothing, is more manifestly evident

server of all things, and Preserver of all things, *unum tum invisibilem*,

dent from other places of Scripture; which do denote that this first Production was out of nothing. For that Expression of St. Paul is a plain Allusion to this Sense: Which calleth those things which he not as though they were. And more plainly in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Through Faith we understand that the Worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen, were not made of things which do appear; Heb. xi. 3. This seemed evident a Truth, that St. Chrysostom expresses himself thus. *Τὸ δὲ λέγειν, ἔξ ὑποκειμένου ὕλης τὰ ὄντα γεγονέναι, καὶ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι ἔξ ἄκτιστων αὐτὰ παρήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν, τὸ ἔχοντες παραρροῦντες ἂν εἰναι σημεῖον. To say that things which are were made out of Pre-existent Matter, and not to confess that they were made out of nothing, is a sign of the last degree of Frenzy. Chrys. Hom. ii. in Gen.*

Providence of God every where asserted in Scripture.

God giveth to the Beast his Food, and to the young Ravens which cry, Psal. cxlvii. 9. He giveth to all Life, Breath, and all things, Acts xxvii. 25. And our Saviour teaches us, that God preserves the Fowls of the Air and the Lilies of the Field, Mat. vi. 26. And that a Sparrow does not fall to the Ground without his Permission, Mat. x. 29. And not only in Preserving them but in Governing them. Who maketh his Sun to rise upon the evil and upon the good, Mat. v. 45. Who covereth the Heaven with Clouds and prepareth Rain for the Earth, Ps. cxlvii. 8. who gives us Rain from Heaven and fruitful Seasons, filling our Hearts with Food and Gladness, Acts xiv. 17. The Lord from the place of his Habitation looketh upon all the Inhabitants of the earth: He fashioneth their Hearts alike: he considereth all their works, Psal. xxxiii. 14, 15. The ways of Man are before the Eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his goings, Prov. v. 21.

Proved from Reason.

Because Preservation requires the same Omnipotent Power as Creation.

ἡμεῖς οὖν τὸ μὲν θεῶν, ἔξ ἄκτιστων ἐστὶ τὴν παράγειν. τὸ δὲ γεγονότα εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἰδὲ μὲλλοντα ἀναχάσκειν, συνέχειν τὴν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πηγῶν ἀλλήλα διασπάζοντα. To preserve the World is not a less thing than to make it. Nay, to say something which may seem extraordinary, it is a greater thing. For to create is only to produce a thing out of nothing, but to preserve is to keep from falling into nothing, and also to keep jarring Principles in order. Chrys. Hom. ii. in Ep. ad. Heb.

A Consequent of God's Goodness.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ἰσοῦν λέγουσιν. καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγγόνων, καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν δημιουργηθέντων σοφάζεται τὰ δημιουργήματα καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐπὶ ζῆλον καὶ ἀλαβέρτα μὴ χάνειν πάλιν διαβῆται, ὅσα δὲ ὁρῶμεν, καὶ λυσιστέλλῃ, πάντα τρέπον ἐκπορεύειν ἐκαστοῦ. Reason dictates, that a Father, or a Maker, must take care of what is produced by them. For a Father takes care of his Children, and an Artificer of his Work; drawing away from them all things that may hurt them, and providing them with all Necessaries. Phil. de Op. Mund. And the like is said by St. Ambrose. Quis operatur negligat operis sui curam? Quis deserat & destituat, quod ipse condendum putavit? si injuria est regere, nonne est major injuria fecisse? Cum aliquid non fecisse nulla injuria sit, non curare quod feceris, summa inclementia. What Workman will neglect the care of his work? Who will desert and leave exposed that which he has thought fit to make? If (as the Atheists pretend) it be an Injury to govern things; is it not a greater Injury to make things, and to take no care

of them? For 'tis no Injustice not to have made them; but 'tis the greatest Act of Inclemency, not to take care of them after they are made. Ambr. Off. Lib. i. c. 13. But this is no more than what was observed by Plato. *Θεοὶ ὡς ἀγαθοὶ γε ὄντες πάντα ἀρετῇ, καὶ ὅτι πάντων ἐπιμέλειαν ὀφείλουσιν. τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔσσαν κλῆματα. The Gods being most perfect in all Virtue, take all convenient care of their Creatures. Plat. Tim.*

IV. Because of the great Regularity and Constancy which is observable in every part of Nature. As (1.) In the Heavenly Bodies, all whose Motions and Vicissitudes are performed in the exactest Order, without the least Variation or Change. For thus Cicero urges this Argument. *Quis hunc hominem dixerit, qui cum tam certos celi notus, tam ratos astrorum ordines, tamque omnia inter se connexa, & apta viderit, neget in his ullam inesse rationem, eaque casu fieri dicat, quæ quanto consilio gerantur nullo consilio assequi possumus? Who can call him a Man who when he sees the Motions of the Heavens so constant, and the Orders of the Stars so fixed, and all things among themselves so connected and fitted, shall deny that there is a Reason which governs these, and say all this is done by Chance, which the greatest Wisdom cannot comprehend the Wisdom by which they are effected? Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. ii. (2.) In the Order which is observed in the production of the Species, and the Preservation of the Individuals, among irrational Creatures. For thus Nemefius reasons upon this Topick. *Πᾶς ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βῆς ἐξ βῆτος ἀπὸ γενέτας, καὶ ἵνα- son ἐκ τοῦ οὐκ ἐκ σπέρματος οὐτεται, καὶ ἐκ ἄλλων, περὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς; How should a Man be begotten of a Man, a Bull of a Bull, and all other Creatures after their own kind, if there were no Providence? Nemef. de Nat. Hom. cap. 42. St. Ambrose urges the same from the natural tendency they have to things which contribute to their Health. *Cuique animanti cognitum est, quemadmodum suam tueatur salutem. Si virtus suppetit, resistendo: si velocitas, fugiendo: si astutia precavendo. Quis eas usum medendi, herbarumque docuit habere notitiam? Homines sumus, & sepe specie herbarum fallimur, & plerumque quas salebras putamus, noxias reperimus. Quoties inter dulces epulas cibis lethalis irrepsit, & inter ipsas Anticorum excubias ministrorum vitalia Regum ferulis esca penetravit? Fera solo noxius odore noxia, & profutura discernere: nullo prævio, nullo prægustatore, carpitur herba nec ledit. Melior enim magistra veritatis natura est, &c. Every living Creature knows how to preserve its own Safety. If it has strength, by resisting: if it has swiftness, by flying: if it has cunning, by caution. Who taught them the use of Medicine, and the knowledge of Herbs? We are Men, and yet we oftentimes mistake one Herb for another: and what we think to be Medicinal we find to be Deadly. How frequently are Princes poisoned in their Food, tho' they have all their Courtiers about them attending? But Animals by their smell know what is deadly to them, they bite upon an Herb without a Taster, and yet it never hurts them. Therefore Nature is the best Mistress of Truth, &c. Ambr. 6. Hexæm. cap. 4.***

V. But particularly God's Providence is demonstrable, from his Preservation and Government of Mankind. The care which God takes of the irrational part of the Creation relates only to their Bodies, but the Preservation and Providence which he extends to Men, relates to their Souls as well as Bodies. Which Acts of God's gracious Providence are manifest, (1.) In defending them from Dangers, and supplying them with all bodily Comforts. Some of which are common to all Men, others but to the generality of Men, but some are of so particular and concerning a Nature, that they do demonstrably infer the Interposition of an immediate Providence. Of which Persons may be said, as Homer said of Ulysses, *ὅς τ' ἴδμεν ὅς τις θεὸς ἀνὰ σπῆν ἀνέειπας. ὃς κενὸν ἀνὰ σπῆν ἀνέειπας Πάλλας Ἀθήνη. I never saw the Gods so plainly love A Man, as Pallas him, whom She always succours. Odyss. iii.*

(2.) By

both Visible and Invisible. And in Unity of both^m Visible andⁿ Invisible; and in the Unity of this & in unitate ejus divine nature, tres sunt

(2.) By supports of his Grace in Temptations and Sufferings. This is admirably set forth by St. Chrysostom. *Τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκπαινεῖται, &c.* Who does not wonder, when he sees a Man of the same make with himself, who has conversed among Men, letting, as if he were an Adamant, his Sufferings make no Impression upon him? Nay being stronger than an Adamant, when in the midst of Fire, and Swords and Beasts, he conquers all these for righteousness sake? who blesses when he is reviled; who praises them who speak ill of him; who when he is injured prays for those who do him harm; and does Courtesies to those that are designing and plotting against him. *Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἃ καὶ πολλὰ μάλλον δεῖται ὁ θεός.* This and such a like Temper of Mind, do more than the Heavens declare the Glory of God. Chryf. Hom. xviii. in 1 Cor. (3.) By making them to account for their Actions, they being endowed with a freedom of acting, which renders them accountable upon their Transgression of the Laws of their Creator. From this Head Basil of Seleucia proves the Punishment due to Sin, as deservedly incurred, because Men are to give an Account of their Actions, which their Reason and Freedom makes them liable to, which irrational Creatures are not. *Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἃ τῶν θύων ἐστὶ καὶ γίνεσθαι, &c.* The Creator, making other kind of Animals, has bound them to the Laws of Nature, neither is there a free Will in them occasioning an exercising of their Faculties indifferently on either side, neither a Judgment of Reason weighing the choice of what they are to do. But Nature at the same time commands and forces them to do, not troubling it self about giving out a Precept. But Man being endowed with Reason, is adorned with an Elective Faculty, &c. Bas. Sel. Or. de Adam.

VI. That this Providential Care of God does not imply any Operoseness, or Anxiety, in the Deity. This is only a foolish Notion of the Epicureans; as Velleius speaks in Tully. *Nisi qui clam, nihil beatum est. Dum hominum commoda vitasque tueatur, ne ille est implicatus molestis negotiis & operosis.* There is nothing happy but what is quiet. Whilst God looks after the Concerns and the Lives of Men he must needs be distracted with a very busy and troublesome Employ. Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. But this is, as one very well observes, *ὁ δὲ ἀγνοῖ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀρετὰς ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν θεοῦ σαφηνείας, καὶ ὁ ἡμετέραν ἀδυναμίαν ἐπ' ἐκείνης μετὰδίδωκεν.* The reasoning of Men who measure God's Understanding by their own, and charge their own weakness upon him. Ammon in Ar. de Interp. Plotinus exposes this Objection, because it makes God to have need of the assistance helps of Memory and Computation. *Αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ, ὡς λογισμῷ τοίνυν ὡς μνήμῃ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν.* Plot. En. 4. Lib. 4.

Objections against Providence answered. VII. That it is no Objection against God's providential Care, That bad Men sometimes have a greater share of the good things of this World than good Men have. (1.) Because if good Men were always to be happy in this World, and bad Men the contrary, there would be no variety in the Dispensations of Providence, and the Designs of an all-wise God would be subject to every common Understanding. And therefore Plotinus blames those who accuse Providence, for these seeming unequal Dispensations, thus. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς αἰτίας, ὡς καὶ κατὰ χροῖμα παρὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἡμεῶν τὸ δῆμα μέγαλον, ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ τὸ ἀγνοῖν καὶ φαῦλος φρονεῖν. τὸ δὲ καὶ καλὸν ἐστὶ, ἐν τῇ τῶν χροῖμα ἐξέτασι καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων συμπληρῶμεν.* Whilst we accuse Providence we are like them who not understanding the Art of Painting, blame the Painter for not putting the finest Colours in every place, whilst he chose to set them in the most convenient places. Or if any one should find fault with a Play because all are not Heroes in it; or because a Slave or a Country Man, or any Person of mean Condition, speaks in it. For the Beauty would be lost, if you take away any of these meaner Parts, which complete the whole. Plot. En. 3. Lib. 3. (2.) Because God turns the Evils which befall Good Men in this World into good, and pursues thereby the wise and righteous Designs of his Providence. Wherefore St. Austin lays very well. *Male-*

fice virtutes in mundo Divine providentia usui sunt: The Power which is permitted to wicked Men is the Instrument of the Divine Providence. Lib. xvi. cont. Faust. And so Synesius: *Τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἐπινοήσαντες πρὸς τινῶν ἀγαθὸν τι καὶ χροῖμα τέλος ἀποτελεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς δοχῶσι κακοῖς χροῖμα.* The Evils which are excogitated by some are made by God to tend to a good and profitable end, and tho' they seem evil they carry good with them. Synes. Ep. 57. St. Basil the great speaks more expressly in explaining those words of the Prophet. *I the Lord create Evil,* Is. xlv. 7. *Κτίζει κακὰ τῷ ἐμοί, μετακοσμεῖ αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς βελτίωσιν ἀγει ὡς ἀποθέμενα τὸ ἐμὸν, κακὰ δὲ τὸ καλὸν οὖσιν μεταβαλεῖν.* Create Evil: that is, rectifies it and makes it good; so that they lay aside their evil Nature, and take the Nature of good upon them. Bas. Mag. Or. 8. And then he very accurately distinguishes, between the several kinds of Evil. *Κακὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἡμῶν αἰσθησίν, τὸ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸ εἰς αὐτὸ οὖσιν τὸ μὲν ὡς οὖσαι κακὸν, ἐξ ἡμῶν ἡρπάζεται κακὸν δὲ τὸ ἡμῶν ἐπιπορὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς τὸ αἰσθῆναι ὑπὸ τῷ φρονίμῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότῃ, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῶν ἐπάγεται.* One thing is evil, in respect of our Senses, another is evil in its own Nature. This which is by Nature evil, is in our Power to avoid; but the accidental and the painful Evil, is sent to us by a wise and good Master, and tends to our Advantage. And so again. *Τὸ μὲν κυρίως κακὸν ἡ ἀμαρτία, ὅπερ μάλιστα ἐστὶ τῆς τῷ κακῷ προσηγορίας ἀξίον, ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν προαιρέσεως ἡρπάζεται, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸν, τὸ μὲν ὡς ἀγνώσ-μα, ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἀνδρείας προβάλλεται, τὰ δὲ, ὡς παραδείγ-μα, ἐπὶ τῷ σωφροσύνῃ ποιῶνται τὸς πρὸς ἀμαρτίαν ἐνοησῆ-ται.* Sin which is only properly an Evil, and truly deserves the name of Evil, depends upon our Will. But for other Evils, some of them are only afforded us as Combats, or Exercises for the Proof of our Manhood, others as Examples to make those who are liable to fall into Sin to act more warily. Ibid. (3.) Because, if any Obliquities happen in the administration of the Divine Providence in this World, they will abundantly be made up in the distribution of Rewards and Punishments in the next. For thus Justin Martyr argues for the certainty of a future State. *Εἰ δὲ οὐ γινέσθαι τῶν νεκρῶν ἡ ἀνάστασις, πῶς ἐκ τῶν ἰσοῦ ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἀδίκως τὸς μαρτυρικὰς ἀγῶνας, καὶ οὐκ ὑπομένοντες; καὶ ὁ ἀδίκων οὐκ, πῶς ὁ ἀδίκων τὸ μὴ γινέσθαι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἐν ᾧ μόνῃ ἐνδὲ-χεται γινέσθαι τῶν πτωχικῶν καὶ διακρίσιν καὶ διαφορὰν τιμῆς τε καὶ τιμωρίας; If there be no Resurrection of the Dead, why shall not their cases be the same, who cause the Martyrs Agonies, as theirs who suffer them? If this be unjust, why then is it not unjust, that there should be no Resurrection of the Dead, in which alone a difference is made in Judgment, by the Punishment of evil Deeds, and the Reward of good ones? Just. Mart. Quæst. & Resp. ad Gr. And in like manner St. Chrysostom. *Ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμεῶν κακῶν ἀπέλθον μὴ λοκαλιζέμεν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν μεταβαλεῖται δὲ αὐτῶν. Εἰ τοίνυν δίκαιος ὁ θεός, πῶς τῶν κατὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀποδίδει, πῶς ἐκείνοις τὰς τιμωρίας, ἐν γένει μὴ ἐστὶ; ἐν ἀνδραγαθίᾳ μὴ ἐστὶ; In this world many who have been great Sinners have died unpunished: many who have lived a Life of Virtue, have died suffering grievous Calamities. Therefore, since God is just, how will he reward these Men's goodness, or punish the others wickedness; if there be no Hell, if there be no Resurrection? Chryf. Hom. vi. in Ep. ad Phil.**

m Visible.] This Expression of Visible and Invisible is used here in Imitation of the ancient Creeds, which join to the Visible the material World under-stander the words *ὅλα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* The maker of all things Visible and Invisible. But the Expression was originally taken out of Scripture, and refers to that Passage of the Apostle. *Ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα.* For by him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, Visible and Invisible, Col. i. 16. Which Language of the Apostle seems to be purely Philosophical, and does exactly agree with the Language of Plato, who frequently uses the word *θεατὸν* for a sensible or visible Being, and *ἀσφατον* or *νοητὸν* for an Invisible or Spiritual one. *Plat. i. Tim. Pol. Lib. vii. Phæd. & alibi pas-sim.*

By the word *Visible* here is understood the Frame of the whole material World, consisting of all the numerous Bodies both Cælestial and Terrestrial: which are compendiously related by *Moses* in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, in such an extraordinary Strain of Majestick Eloquence, that it very much affected one of the greatest Masters of it, *Longinus*, who for that Reason calls him ἀνὴρ ὁ τυχεύων, *no mean Person*. Long. περὶ ὕψους. And *Theophilus Antiochus*, in a Strain of Admiration, at the matters related therein, speaks thus. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀνέμου ὡς ἀνθρώπων δύναται κατ' ἀξίαν ἢ ἐξ ἡγῆσιν, καὶ ἢ διοικησίαν πᾶσαν ἐξεπεῖν, ὡς ἐν μυρία σώματα ἔχει καὶ μυρίας γλώσσας· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν μυρίοις ἔτεσι βιάσεται τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐν ταῖς πρὸ βίᾳ, ὡς ἐν ὅσῳ ἔσται ἱκανὸς πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ ἀξίως τι εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος, καὶ ἢ πλεον ἢ σοφίας τὸ θεῖον ἢ ὅσων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ περιγγραμμένῃ ἐξανμήσῃ. No one can explain as he ought the History of the Creation, and the Order and Disposition of things there related, if he had a thousand Mouths and a thousand Tongues: or if he should live innumerable Ages in this Life could he speak as much of it as it deserves, by reason of the excessive greatness and riches of the Divine Wisdom discovered in this History of the Six Days work. Theoph. Ant. ad. Autol. Lib. ii.

By Invisible is understood Angels.

How called in Scripture.

in Invisible.] The Articles having declared God to be the Maker of the Visible or the Material World, proceed to declare him to be the Maker of the Immaterial or Invisible, which does consist of Angels and Spirits. That there are such Beings that are invisible to our Eyes, is frequently notified unto us in Scripture under several Appellations. The most common Name which is given to them, is that of *Malachim*, Angels or Messengers, Gen. xvi. 7. ix. 10, 11. xix. 1, &c. They are sometimes called *Abarim*, The strong, or mighty, Psal. lxxvii. 29. *Elim*, the powerful, Job. xx. *Elohim*, the Lords, Gen. xxxi. 24. Job. xxxviii. 7. Psal. viii. 6. xcvi. 8. *Beni elohim*, the Sons of God, Deut. xxxii. 8. Job i. 6. xxxviii. 7. And in one place *Eshdath*, the fiery Order, Deut. xxxiii. 2. Our Translation and most others render it a *Fiery Law*, or *Law of Fire*; but the Septuagint Translate it ἄγγελοι, Angels; probably taking it to allude to the igneous Nature which Angels were supposed to consist of, or which they used to make their Appearance in. Now since there is so frequent mention made of Angels, not only in the Hagiographers and the Prophets, but also in the Mosaiical Writings, which every Sect among the Jews did acknowledge to be Divinely inspir'd, it seems matter of no little wonder, how the Saducees, who professed themselves Jews, and pretended to acknowledge the Authority of the Mosaiical Writings, should deny the Existence of Angels and Spirits, Mat. xxii. 27. as they seem to have done. *Grotius* has not unhappily conjectured, that they did not universally deny the Existence of Angels, but were only of the Opinion of those Jews, mentioned by *Justin Martyr*, who said that the Angels were ἀτμήτους καὶ ἀχωρίτους θεῶν δυνάμεις, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ὅταν βέλεται περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφεται εἰς ἑαυτὸν: That these were certain indivisible and inseparable Powers of God, which he made upon occasion to go out from himself, and then made them return into himself again. In opposition to which Opinion that Father maintains, ὅτι ἀγγελοὶ αἱ μόνοντες καὶ μὴ ἀναλυόμενοι: That the Angels were permanent Beings, and not after this manner dissoluble. Just. Coll. cum. Tryph. But whether this were their Opinion or no, it is certain, that they must maintain some Opinions, contrary to the current Doctrine of the Jewish Church, with relation to Angels. Now it was usual among the Jews, to go upon Pneumatick or Spiritual Principles, in explaining the ordinary Phenomena of Nature. They did not explain the Nature of Winds, by the Exhalation of Vapors, but by Angels moving the Air at the Divine Command: who maketh his Angels Spirits or Winds: nor did they explain the Production of Lightening by the Explosion of a sulphureous Substance in the Air, but by the energetical Power of Angels who presided in those Regions; his Ministers a flaming Fire, Psal. civ. 4. Which words plainly relate to the Meteors in the Air, which the Psalmist is in that place speaking of, from the words that immediately precede it, Who layeth the Beams of his Chambers in the Waters, who maketh the Clouds his Chariot, who walketh upon the Wings of the Wind. So they explained Plagues, not by the arising of Pestilential Vapors from the

Earth, but by the destroying of an Angel. 1 Chr. xxi. 12. In Allusion to which the Psalmist attributes a personal Action to the Plague, The Pestilence which walketh in darkness, &c. Ps. xci. 6. (i. e.) the Angel who causes the Plague. Therefore 'tis but natural to imagine, that the Saducees who had learned some Maxims of the Heathen Philosophy, and thereupon explained these Occurrences by material Principles, very much displeased their Adversaries the Pharisees, by this Ethnick way of Philosophizing: who thereupon to be sure would not fail to load them with the remotest and most invidious Consequences of their Opinion; so that they were in the Opinion of the Vulgar looked upon to deny the very Being of Angels: which in reality they could not do, unless they had renounced the Books of *Moses*, that so frequently make mention of Angels, which it does not appear that they ever did.

The Doctrine of Angels and Spirits, being universally received in the Jewish Church and Nation, was in all Probability derived from them to the Egyptians, and by their means, to the Greeks. Or perhaps *Pythagoras*, who was the first who taught the Doctrine of Angels or Spirits, among the Greeks, might have it immediately from the Jews. For he is Recorded to have been initiated into πάσας ἑσπερικὰς τέλεις, all the Rites of the Barbarians: καὶ παρὰ χaldeαῖς ἐγίνετο καὶ μάγους, that he was conversant among the Chaldeans, and the Magi. Diog. Laert. in vita Pythag. His Doctrine concerning Spirits or Angels was: ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἀέρος ψυχὰν ἐμπλεων καὶ τέλει, δαίμονας καὶ ἡρώας νομίζεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τέτων πέμπεσθαι ἀνθρώποις τὰς ἐνέργειαι, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα νόστου καὶ ὑγίαιας καὶ ἢ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ βλάταις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλοῖς κτίσμασιν: That the Air was full of Spirits, which were called Demons or Heroes: and from these Dreams were sent to Men, and Signs of Diseases, and of Health: and not only to Men, but to Cattle and other Beasts, ibid. From his Principles his Followers learned their Doctrine of Demons, Angels, Archangels, which their Books were so full of. vid. Jambl. de Mysteriis. 'Tis not improbable that *Plato* derived his Doctrine of Demons or Angels, from the same Fountain; his Writings being full of it. He says they are called Demons from their Knowledge, and for that Reason *Hesiod*, who first used the word *Dæmon*, called the Heroes of the Golden Ages by that Name: and ὅτι οὐρανίμοι καὶ δαίμονες ἦσαν δαίμονας αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώποις, he called them Demons, because they were wise and knowing. Plat. in Cratyl. He says an Angel or Dæmon is a Spirit, μεσάζον Θεῷ τε καὶ θνητοῖς ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ὄν ἀμφοτέρων: betwixt God and Man, a middle Being between both. Plat. Symp. That these are συναρχόντες τοῦ μεγίστου Θεοῦ, Co-adjutors to God. in Polit. and more particularly that ἐρμάνοντες καὶ διαπορευόμενοι Θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ Θεῶν. ἥτις μὲν τὰς δεήσεις, καὶ θυσίας ἥτις δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις τε καὶ ἀμειβὰς ἥτις θυσίαν: That they are Interpreters and Embassadors of the Gods to Men, and from Men to the Gods: That they present the Prayers and Sacrifices of the One, and that they carry the Commands and Answers upon Sacrifices to the Others. Plat. in Sympot.

II. There is no constat, whether these Superior Beings have Bodies, or whether they are pure Spirits. The Scripture is altogether silent therein, and tho' it speaks of Angel's Food, and the Tongue of Angels, yet these and the like are supposed to be only figurative Expressions, to denote an excellent Food, such as Angels, if they did eat, might be supposed to feed on; and an eloquent Tongue, such as Angels, if they did speak, might be supposed to speak with. Therefore the ancient Divines of the Church have taken their Liberty, to declare severally their Opinions, on each side of this Question. The more ancient Fathers were for their having Bodies, of a yielding Aereal Nature, like the ὀχήματα or Vehicles of the Platonists. *Justin Martyr* seems to have too gross Conceptions, when he argues their Corporeity from the Angels Eating when they were entertained by *Abraham*, Gen. xviii. and from Manna being called the Food of Angels. Διόλον ὅταν ἡμῶν τετραβήμενοι, καὶ μὴ ὁμοίαν τροφὴν ἥτις οἱ ἀνθρώποις χράμεθα, τρέφονται. 'Tis plain that they are nourished, tho' they do not feed on the same food as Men do. Just. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. *Origen* in his Book περὶ ἀρχῶν will allow it only to be the Property of God, esse sine materiali substantia; to be without a material Substance. Lib. i. c. 6. *St. Basil* says, that their Substance is, ἀέριον πνεῦμα, ἐν τύχῃ, ἢ πῦρ ἀύλον; an Aerial Spirit, or a Fire without gross Matter. De Spir. Sanct. cap. 16. *St. Cyril*

The Opinion of the Heathens concerning Angels.

Whether Angels have Bodies.

S. Cyril of Alexandria following Origen, will allow God Almighty only to be ἀσώματος, but that the Angels περιέχονται are circumscribed, or inclosed with Bodies: σώματα γὰρ, ἢ καὶ μὴ ταῦτα τυχόν, ὅποια τὰ ἡμέτερα; though, perhaps their Bodies are not such as ours are, Cyr. in Joh. Tertullian asserts, that the Angels, Corporis alicujus, sui tamen generis, incarnem autem humanam transfigurabiles, ad tempus: enclosed with a certain Body, of their own sort, so that for a time they can put on our Flesh. Tert. de car. Christ: S. Hilary says, that they do corpoream naturæ suæ Substantiam sortiri; partake of a corporeal Substance, peculiar to them. Hil. in Mat. cap. v. And S. Ambrose will allow Immateriality only to agree, but to the Blessed Trinity. Nos autem nihil materialis compositionis immune, atque alienum putamus, præter illam solam veneranda Trinitatis substantiam. Lib. II. de Abrahamo. S. Austin says, that they do Corpus suum, cui non subduntur, sed subditum regunt, in species, quas volunt, accommodatas, atque aptas actionibus suis mutare: change their Bodies, to which they are not subject, but entirely govern, and adapt to their actions, Aug. de Trin. Lib. II.

Several of the other Fathers take the opposite side of the Question, and maintain that Angels are pure Spirits, devoid of all manner of Body. Eusebius calls them, ἀσώματος τινὰς νοερός, καὶ θείας δυνάμεις, ἀγγέλους τε καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, αὐτὰ τε καὶ πάντῃ καθαροὶ πνεύματα: unbodied Intelligences, and divine Powers, the Angels and Archangels, devoid of all Body, and pure Spirits, Euseb. de Dem. Lib. iv. cap. i. St. Chrysostom speaking of them says, God made ἀγγέλους, ἀρχαγγέλους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῆς ἀσώματων ὕλης, Angels, Archangels, and other immaterial Substances, Hom. i. in Mat. Nazianzen calls them νοερὰ πνεύματα Intellectual Spirits, Orat. xlii. and ἀπλοὶ, νοεροί, τε διαύγεις: Simple, Intelligent, and Pellucid, Carm. i. de Virg. Gregory Nyssen says, that the Angelick Nature is ὑπερκόσμιος καὶ αὐλὸς οὐσίς, ἢ σωματικῆς περὶ ὧν ἐλευθέρως ἔσα καὶ ἀνεστῇ: a supramundane and immaterial Nature, free from all Bodily Circumscription, and at large, Cat. c. 6. The Latin Fathers, about the 6th and 7th Century, held the same Opinion. Isid. de diff. c. 12. Greg. Mag. iv. Dial. c. 29. But this latter Opinion was so far from being an established Doctrine of the Church, that John Bishop of Thessalonica disputes strenuously against it, in the 2d Council of Nice, A. 787, saying, περὶ τῆς ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τούτους ἀγίων δυνάμεων, περὶ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς τῆς ἀνθρώπων νοερὸς μὲν αὐτὴ καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία γινώσκει, ἢ μὴν ἀσώματος πάντῃ καὶ ἀσώματος: Concerning Angels and Archangels, and the Powers above them, nay, I will farther add the Souls of us Men, the holy Church acknowledges them to be intelligible, but not altogether without any Body, or Invisibile. For which Opinion he vouches the Authority of Basil the Great, Athanasius and Methodius. Conc. Nic. ii. Act. 4. And, what is remarkable, the Council does not contradict his Doctrine. Some Ages after, the School Divines, striking in with the latter Doctrine, made it more current, and then it was confirmed as the true Orthodox Opinion by the Lateran Council, under Innocent the Third, A. D. 1215. in these words. Deus utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, Spiritualem, & Corporealem, Angelicam videlicet & Mundanam. God created both sorts of Creatures, the Spiritual and the Corporeal, namely the Angelick and the Worldly. Conc. Lat. sub. In. iii. cap. 1. After this the current Doctrine of Divines was, for the pure Spirituality of Angels.

III. They are endowed with a very great degree of Knowledge and Understanding. (1.) For this the Holy Scripture informs us of, when it declares, that the Revelations which God Almighty was pleased to make to Mankind, were handed to them by the Ministry of Angels, Act. vii. 53. Gal. iii. 19. A wise Prince is said to be as the Angel of God to discern good and bad, Act. xiv. 17. which words shew the common Notion of those times, concerning the Superior Knowledge of Angels. (2.) But however their Knowledge is limited. For it is recorded in Scripture, that they are ignorant of the Day of Judgment, Mar. xiii. 32. And the ancient Writers of the Church teach us the same. Αἱ ἀρχαὶ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οἱ ἀγγέλους καὶ οἱ ἀρχαγγέλους, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς ἀσώματων δυνάμεων συμμορίας οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, ὅσα διδάσκονται. The Invisible Powers neither foreknow nor know all things: for the divine Nature only has this Knowledge. But Angels and Archangels, and the other Companies of Invisible Powers, know so much as they are taught. Theod. in Psal.

xxiii. So Isidore Pelusiot. Αἱ τὰς ἀγγέλων, οἷα τὸ οὐσίως σύνδουλοι, τὰ μὴ πᾶσι παρόντα, ἀγνοοῦσιν. The Orders of Angels, as being our fellow Creatures, are ignorant of things not yet Present, Isid. Pel. Lib. i. Ep. 195. (3.) Their Knowledge is very different from ours. This seems to be grounded upon what we find in Scripture revealed concerning a future State, and the Superior degree of Knowledge which the Soul shall be possessed of there. Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face: now I know in part, but then I shall know even as I am known, 1 Cor. xiii. 12. And whereas it is likewise told us by our Saviour, that we shall be as the Angels of God, Mat. xxii. 30. it follows, that the Angels of God, at present, do enjoy that eminent share of Knowledge, that so extraordinarily clear and distinct view of things, which we shall partake of hereafter. Divines, both Antient and Modern, have, perhaps, explained this Angelical Knowledge with more niceness and particularity, than they have ground for. One of them calls it an Ἑννοηματικὴν αἰσθησιν, καθ' ἣν ὁρῶσιν αἱ ψυχὰς ἐαυτὰς τε, καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτάς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀγγέλους τε, καὶ τὰς δαίμονας: ὥς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ψυχὴ ψυχῇ, ἔτι ἀγγελὸς ἀγγέλῳ, ἔτι δαίμων δαίμονι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑννοηματικὴν αἰσθησιν ὁρῶσιν ἐαυτὰς τε, καὶ ἀλλήλους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ πάντα: A Cogitative Perception by which Souls see themselves, and things under them: as also Angels and Demons. For a Soul does not perceive or see a Soul, nor an Angel an Angel, nor a Demon a Demon, but according to the foresaid Cogitative Perception, they see themselves and one another, and also all bodily things. Auth. Qu. ad Orthod. apud Just. Mart. Q. 76. Dionysius explains the Knowledge of Angels after a like manner, who says, τὰς ἀπλὰς καὶ μακαρίας ἔχουσι νοήσεις ἢ ἐν μενέσσει, ἢ ἐν μενέσσει, ἢ ἀδύνατον, ἢ λόγων διεξοδικῶν συνάγασαι τὸ θεῶν γινώσκιν, ἢ ἐν ὑπὸ τινος κοινῆς πρὸς ταῦτα συμπειραχόμεναι, πάντες δὲ ὕμνῳ, καὶ πλήθους καθαρεύουσαι, νοεράς, αὐλῶς, ἑνωμένως τὰ ὅντα τῆς θεῶν νοῶσι: They have simple and blessed Understandings, not in Divisibles nor from Divisibles, or the Senses, collecting the divine Knowledge from tedious Discourse; but being purged from every thing that is material, and from multiplicity, they understand intelligibly, immaterially and singly. Dionys. de Div. nom. c. 7. This was the Foundation of the Intuitive Knowledge of Angels, and a great many other fanciful Opinions, which are taken up at a venture without Countenance from Scripture, in the Divinity of the Schools.

IV. These excellent Beings are Immortal, and not subject to the Laws of Death and Dissolution, as we Men are. (1.) Of this our Blessed Saviour has particularly informed us, when he declared the Nature of our Bodies, after the Resurrection. Neither, says he, can they die any more, for they are equal to the Angels, Luke xx. 36. Which does clearly denote, that the Angels are not subject to the Laws of Mortality. (2.) But then it must be observed, that they are not endowed with such an Essential Immortality, as that of Almighty God, who may if he pleases at any time by his Omnipotent Authority put a Period to their Being; this being only owing to that firmitude of their Nature, whatever it be, which God was pleased to bestow on them, which renders them incapable of Dissolution, by the Power of any created Being. Upon which Consideration St. Athanasius makes this Observation. Μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει ἀθανασίαν, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐστὶ ἀθανασία, οἷα ἀγγέλους μετὰ τὴν ἀθανασίαν εἶσιν ἀθάνατοι, God only has Immortality, because he is Immortality it self: but Angels are Immortal by the Participation of his Immortality. And Theophylact says, that God only κρείων καὶ ὑπερῷος ἔχει τὴν ἀθανασίαν ἀγγέλους δὲ, καὶ ἀθάνατοι ἀλλ' ὡς οὐσίαι, χρεῖται τῆς ὥς τε ἐκ ἔχουσιν. ἀλλὰ μετέχουσιν. God only properly and essentially has Immortality: but Angels, though they are Immortal, are not so by Nature but by Grace: so that they cannot be so properly said to have Immortality as to partake of it. Theoph. on 1 Tim. vi. 16. Who only hath Immortality, &c.

V. They are endowed with a very large share of Power, which is evident from their being employ'd as God's Angels, in executing his great Designs. As the Angels that were sent to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah, Gen. xix. and as that single Angel who could in one Night destroy all the first born in Egypt, Exod. xii. 29. and another who killed 185000 of the Army of Sennacherib. 2 King. xix. 25. Wherefore Nazianzen says, δύο ταῦτα δύσκατατὰ, Θεὸς καὶ ἄγγελος: There are two things, which are not to be resisted, God and an Angel. Greg. Naz.

Naz. Orat. xxviii. And again in his Poems he thus speaks of the Angels, executing the Divine Commands :

— νόες εἰσὶν ἐλαφοί,
Πῦρ, καὶ πνεῦμα θεῶν, δ' ἀέρ· ὧκα θέοισι,
Ἐαυμένως μεγαλοῖσιν ὑποδράουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν.

— Nimble Minds,
All Flame and Spirit Divine, that through the Air
Flie swiftly, to discharge their King's Commands.

Greg. Naz. Car. II.

VI. They were created by God, and Created by God. were not Eternal Beings. (1.) This is manifest from Holy Scripture. For the Psalmist, when he calls upon all the Parts of the Creation to praise God, excites the Angels to do the same, Praise him all ye Angels, Psal. cxlviii. 2. Adding this reason, Let them praise the Name of the Lord, for he commanded and they were created, v. 5. And for this Reason the Title of the Sons of Gods is given to Angels, Job i. 6, 7. Job xxxviii. 7. Whereupon Theodoret thus expresses himself. Ὅτι κτιστὴν ἔχουσιν φύσιν καὶ Ἀγγέλοι καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλοι, καὶ ἔτι ἐπεὶ ἔχον ἀσώματος, πλὴν τὸ ἀγίας Τριάδος. ἢ θεῶν σαφῶς ἡμᾶς διδάσκει γεγραπτόν. That Angels and Archangels, and whatsoever else is incorporeal, except the Divine Trinity, have a created Nature, the Scripture does expressly teach. Theod. Qu. ii. in Gen. And for holding the contrary Opinion, by the Imperial Edict, they are to be Excommunicated: τὸς μὴ ὁμολογῶντας κτίσμα ἢ Θεοῦ τὰς Ἀγγέλους, who do not confess that Angels are created by God, Nov. cxxxiii. (2.) But, as to the time of their Creation, that is not so exactly agreed upon by Divines, the Scripture being silent therein, and they having nothing left them to steer by, but their own Ratiocinations and Conjectures. There are two considerable Reasons offered by the Antients for this Silence of the Scripture therein. One is given by St. Athanasius. Γινώσκων δὲ Θεὸς τὸ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάστιγα ἦν Ἰουδαίων, τότε χρεὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἐν τῇ γένεσιν τὸ περὶ τῶν Ἀγγέλων λόγον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ θεοποιήσωσιν ὡς Θεοὺς. Because God knew that Men, especially the Jews, were inclined to Idolatry, and to believe a multitude of Gods, therefore he omitted to speak any thing of the Generation of Angels, lest they should worship them as Gods. Athan. Qu. iv. ad Antioch. The other is given by St. Chrysostom. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἰουδαίους, &c. Forasmuch as Moses spake to the Jews, who were detained only by the love of things present, and could conceive nothing but that which fell under their Senses, he represents God to them as the Creator of the material Universe, that learning from the Creation of things the Creator of them, they may adore him who made them, and not cleave to the Creature. Chryf. Hom. i. in Gen. And again, Ὅπου περὶ τῶν ἀσώτων, &c. He speaks nothing of the Invisible Powers, neither does he say God created Angels or Archangels, which he did not without good design omit. For speaking to the Jews, who look'd only after present things, and could not frame their Minds to conceive Intelligibles, he raises them by Sensibles to the Creator. Hom. ii. in Gen. The greater number of the Antients would have them, to be created a considerable time before the Creation of the Material World. This was Origen's Opinion, who in his first Homily upon Genesis speaks thus: In Principio & ante omnia dicitur factum, omnem spiritualem substantiam intelligit, super quam, velut in throno quodam, & sede Deus requiescit. In the beginning, &c. he understands every spiritual Substance, after the making of which God for some time rested as it were in a Throne or a Seat. And S. Basil's, who says, Ἦν τις περισυτέρα τῷ κόσμῳ γένεσις, &c. There was an ancienter State than that of the Creation of the World, agreeable to the Supra Mundan Powers, before time and sempiternal. For the Creator, and Worker (δημιουργός) of all things, then produced his Creatures the Intelligible Light of them, who, agreeably to their Happiness, love God, the purely reasonable and invisible Natures, and all the Orders of Intelligibles, and whatsoever exceeds our Nature, whose Names we cannot discover. These fill up the Substance of the Invisible World, as St. Paul teaches us, when he says, For in him all things were created, whether Visibles, &c. Of the same Opinion is St. Chrysostom. Ἐποίησεν ἀγγέλους, ἀρχαγγέλους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡ ἀσώματος ἰστίαν, &c. μετὰ δὲ τούτων δημιουργίαν ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπου. God made Angels and Archangels, and the rest of the Incorporeal Substances, &c. After the Creation of these he created Man. Chryf. in 1. Lib. ad Stag. And

so Nazianzen. Ἐπει δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καλῶς ἔχεν αὐτοὺς, δευτέρως ἐν τοῖς κόσμῳ ὕλην εἶχεν αὐτοὺς. After he had first well established his first Creation (viz. of Spirits) he then thought of making the Material and Visible World. Naz. Or. xxxviii. St. Ambrose, in maintenance of the same Opinion, says. Angeli, Dominationes & Potestates, etsi aliquando ceperunt, erant tamen jam, quando hic mundus est factus. The Angels, Dominions and Powers, tho' they once had a beginning, yet they were in being at that time when the World was made, Ambr. i. in Hexaem. c. 5. So St. Hierom. Lex millia nec dum nostri orbis implentur anni; & quantus prius aeternitates, quanta tempora, quantas seculorum origines fuisse arbitrandum est, in quibus Angeli, Throni, Dominationes ceteraque virtutes servierint Deo, & absque temporum vicibus atque mensuris, Deo jubente, subsisterint? Six thousand Years of our World are not yet compleated; but how many Eternities before that, what vast times, what Series of Ages, must we think to have passed, wherein the Angels, Thrones, Dominions, and other Powers served God in, and had a Being, according to the Divine Will, before the Vicissitudes and Measures of Time? Hier. in Cap. i. Epist. ad Tit.

But Epiphanius, Theodoret, and some others, will have the Angels created at the same time with the Material World. Στερεώματος γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ἀμα σὺν τοῖς γέγονότων. The Firmament, the Heaven and Earth, and the Angels were made together. Epiph. Hær. lxxv. And Theodoret. Εἰκὸς τὰς ἀγγέλους σὺν ὕδατι δημιουργηθῆναι καὶ γῇ. It is probable that the Angels were made with the Heaven and the Earth. Theod. Qu. iv. in Gen. Therefore upon the whole, the Scripture being silent in this matter, and the greatest Divines being divided in their Opinions upon it, we are at liberty to hold which side of the Question seems most probable to us.

VII. There is great Reason to think, that there are several distinct Orders and Ranks of these Angelical Natures. Several Ranks of these Beings.

(1.) Because several places of Scripture seem to intimate so much. As when the Apostle says, that Christ is set far above all Principality and Power, Might and Dominion, Eph. i. 21. And when he declares, that by him were all things created that are in Heaven and that are in Earth, Visible and Invisible, whether they be Thrones or Dominions, Principalities or Powers, Col. i. 16. So, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, &c. Rom. viii. 38. These Passages seem plainly to refer to several sorts of Invisible Beings, which the Jews of that time thought the Angels were ranked into. Grotius thinks, that this ranging of the Spiritual Beings into these distinct Orders, took its rise from the Form of the Persian Government, which the Jews for some time lived under: That the Principalities allude to the Rabrebani, the Princes, mentioned Dan. v. 2. that the Potestates, the Powers, relate to the Scharin, the great Men or Princes invited to the Feast by Hester, Est. ii. 18. that the κυριότητες or Dominions refer to the Masbaloth, the Dominions, spoken of Dan. xi. 4, 5. vid. Grot. in Rom. viii. Which Conjecture does not appear to be improbable, since the modern Jews have divided the Angels into Ranks, according to the Scriptural Names. Thus Maimonides calls one Order of them Hai-oth Hakadboth, the Sacred Living Creatures, Ez. i. 14. Another the Ophanim, or the Wheels, Ez. i. 16. x. 10. A third the Oranim or the Powerful, Is. xxxiii. 7. So the Chasmalim, or the Order of the Amber, Ez. i. 4. The Seraphim or the Burners: The Malachim or the Messengers: The Eholim or the Gods: The Cherubim or the Oxen-heads: The Beni-elohim, or the Godsons: The Ishim or the Men. Maimonides de fund. Leg. Cap. ii. (2.) Because the most considerable of the Ancient Christian Writers do maintain this Doctrine. One of the most early Writers of them all, Ignatius, plainly declares in favour of this Opinion. For he says that he was, συνάμαρ τὰ ἐπικρατῆα καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγέλους, καὶ τὰς οὐρανούς, τὰς ἀρχοντας δεσπότης καὶ ἀσέβητος: able to speak of heavenly things, the site of Angels, the Constitutions of Archons or Principalities, things Visible and Invisible. Ign. ad Trall. Which words, as they do clearly refer to some of the forementioned Words of St. Paul, so they do plainly acknowledge them to be meant of Angelical Orders. Besides it is evident, that the most principal of the other Fathers do explain St. Paul's words in the like Sense. Thus do Epiphanius, Hær. lxxv. Sect. 33. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxxiv. Cyr. Hier. Cat. 7. Athan. Ep. ad Serap. Hier. in 1. Eph. The Counterfeit Dionysius has made many fanciful Observations about these Orders, their Laws and Oeconomy, without Ground from Scripture, which being taken into the

the School-Divinity has begotten a world of curious Questions among those Writers, which tend little to Edification or Improvement.

God's Ministers VIII. They are employ'd as God's Ministers for the Benefit of good Men for their Preservation from Danger. For he shall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways, Psal. xci. 2. and delivering them from it. The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them, Psal. xxxiv. 7. Examples of which we have in Lot, Gen. xix. Jacob, Gen. xxxii. 1. Elias, 2 King. vi. Peter, Act. xii. in conducting their Souls to a State of Happiness, Luke xvi. 22. Upon which Account Nazianzen says, that all the Host of Heaven have their several Posts assigned them, for this purpose, Λειτουργὸς θεῖν θελήματι, δυνατὰς ἰσχυρὶ εὐσεβεῖτε καὶ ἐπικτήτω πάντα ἐπιπορευομέναι, πᾶσι πανταχῶ παρέσας ἐτοίμας, περιβαλὲ τε λειτουργίας, καὶ κυροῦντι φύσεως, ἀλλὰς ἀλλὰ τι τ' ἐκκεκμημένος μὲν διελιψήσας, ἢ ἀλλῶ τινι τῷ παντὶ ἐπιστάλαγμέναι. They being Ministers of the Divine Pleasure, traverse all places, being prepared to be present at any Place, by the promptness of their Administration and the swiftness of their Nature; some being dispatched to one part of the World, and some to another, Greg. Naz. Or. xxxiv. And Gregory Nyssen says, that the λειτουργία τῶν πνευμάτων τετῶν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ σωζομένων ἐκπέμπεται: The Ministry of these Spirits is to be sent out for working the means of Mens Salvation. Greg. Nyss. Lib. i. contr. Eunom.

Whether Guardian Angels? IX. But whether every Person has a Guardian Angel assigned him, is a matter not so certain. (1.) There is one Passage of Scripture, which seems to offer something in Favour of this Opinion, which is this. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in Heaven their Angels do always behold the Face of my Father which is in Heaven, Mat. xviii. 10. (2.) This seems to be countenanced by the general Opinion of the World, who were enlightened by no Revelation. Menander says,

Ἀπαντὶ δαίμονι αἰδέει συμπαρίσταται
Εὐθὺς γενομένη, μύσῳ γὰρ τῷ βίῳ
Ἀγαθός

As soon as every Man is born,
A gentle Demon is set o'er him,
A Guardian for his Life.

Menand. apud Euseb de Præp. Lib. xiii.

Horace speaks of the same in that Verse

Scit Genius, natale comes, qui temporat astrum,
Naturæ Deus humanæ

My friendly Genius knows, who rules my Fate,
The God of human Nature

Hor. Ep. Lib. ii. Ep. 2.

So Seneca; Unicuique nostrum Pedagógum dari Deum, non quidem ordinariam, sed hunc inferioris notæ ex eorum numero quos Ovidius dicit de plebe Deos. Every one of us has a Tutor God afforded him, not any one of the commonly known Gods, but one of inferior Rank, but such an one of those whom Ovid calls Heavens Commonalty. Sen. Ep. cx. Which was the general Opinion of the Stoicks, as appears by that of Arrian. Ἐπίτροπον ἑκάστῳ παρέσται, καὶ ἑκάστῳ δαίμονας, καὶ παρίστανει φυλάσσων αὐτὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀκοιμήτων καὶ ἀπαρκαλυσίων. God has set over every one of us a Tutor, and delivered us into his Hands to preserve us, one that does not sleep and cannot be imposed upon. Ar. in Epiet. Lib. i. c. 14. (3.) Besides, the most eminent Writers of the ancient Church have espoused this Opinion, and grounded it upon the forementioned words of our Saviour. This Passage of St. Chrysostom concerning this matter is remarkable. Τὸ πρῶτον κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἰθὺν ἦσαν οἱ ἄγγελοι· οὐδέ τι κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἰθὺν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἡμῶν πίστεως. πότεν δ' ἦλλον; Ἀκούε τὴν Χρυσὸν λέγοντα· ὁρᾷτε μὴ καταργησάτε, &c. Ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν ἄγγελον ἔχει. At first, there were Angels according to the number of the Nations, but now not according to the number of the Nations, but according to the number of the Faithful. How does this appear? Why, hear Christ himself speaking, Take heed that ye despise not, &c. Every faithful Person has an Angel, &c. Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Pol. S. Basil speaks with more assurance. Συνῶναι ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν πῖσταν ἄγγελον, οἷον παιδαγωγὸν τινα καὶ νομίαν τὸ ζῶν διευθύνοντα, ὑδὲς ἀνίερε, μεμνημένῳ ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ λόγῳ, ἔπειτα, Μὴ καταργησάτε, &c.

That every one of the faithful has an Assistant Angel, as a certain Tutor or Pastor for the Government of his Life, is a Truth which no one will contradict, who remembers what our Lord has said, Take heed that ye despise not, &c. Bas. Lib. iii. contr. Eunom. vid. Auth. Q. & R. ad Or. ibod. Q. xxx. Theod. Ep. divin. Decr. cap. 7. Orig. Hom. xxxv. in Luc. But Clement of Alexandria is something particular in his Opinion, when he says, that a Christian may arrive to such a Degree of Perfection, as to live without the conduct of his Angel. Οὐ τ' δὲ ἄγγελων συνθέας ἐπιδεῖν ἐστὶ εἶναι βέλαι· τῶτον παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὃ ἄξιον γινόμενον λαμβάνειν, καὶ τ' οὐρανὸν ἔχειν παρ' ἑαυτῶν, διὰ τ' εὐπειθείας. He will not always have him wanting the Assistance of Angels; but, when he is grown worthy, to take his own Government upon himself, and look after himself, by reason of his tractableness. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. Therefore those Persons talk too roughly, who call this a Popish Doctrine, which so many great and Orthodox Divines have maintained. It is only a Theological Opinion, which all Persons are at liberty, either to embrace or refuse.

X. These blessed Spirits are not to be worshipped. (1.) This is evident from Scripture, where we are forbid to be worshipped. Not to be worshipped. (1.) This is evident from Scripture, where we are forbid to be worshipped. And I fell at his Feet to worship him, and he said unto me, see thou do it not, I am thy fellow-Servant, Rev. xix. 10. Which words, upon the like occasion, are again repeated, Cap. xxii. 9. (2.) The Primitive Christians tenaciously adhered to this Doctrine. Origen says, That tho' they are called Gods in Scripture, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὥστε προσκυνεῖσθαι ἡμῖν, &c. Yet we are not commanded to worship and adore them as God; for all our Prayers and Intercession and giving of thanks must be sent up to God who is over all, by our High-Priest who is the Logos and God, and above all Angels, Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. i. Theodoret speaks thus, Ἐγὼ ὁμολογῶ μὲν, &c. I confess, the Holy Scripture has taught us, that there are certain invisible Powers, who praise the Creator, and minister unto his Will. But these we do not esteem them as Gods, neither do we pay divine Worship unto them, neither do we parcel out our Adoration between him and them. We think them greater than Men, but yet we look on them to be our Fellow-Servants. Theod. Sermon. iii. Tom. iv.

Of Evil Angels.

I. Under Invisible Beings are contained Evil Angels likewise, the Prince or Chief of which is termed in Scripture Satan, or the Devil. Frequent mention is made of these in Holy Scripture, as having Idolatrous Worship paid to them, and that in the most barbarous manner, as when the Idolatrous Nations, and sometimes the Jews in compliance with them, offered their Sons and Daughters unto Devils, Psal. cvi. 37. as tormenting the Bodies of Men who were possessed with Devils, Mat. iv. 24. viii. 16. Mar. i. 22. Luke viii. 36. Luke iv. 41. as disseminating false Doctrines, which are therefore called the Doctrines of Devils, 1 Tim. iv. 1. Frequent mention is likewise made of Satan, the Chief of these accursed Spirits. As Job, cap. i. and ii. who is called the Accuser of the Brethren, Rev. xii. 8. And our Adversary the Devil, 1 Pet. v. 8. who is called the Father of wicked Men, John viii. 44. whose works Christ came to destroy, 1 John iii. 8. whose wiles we are commanded to stand against, Eph. vi. 2. and to take care that we fall not into their Snakes, 2 Tim. ii. 26. Wherefore the Ancients call him ἀνθρωποκτόνος θῆρ, a Wild Beast that destroys the Souls of Men, Ign. ad Philad. and the inferior Devils πονηρὰ πνεύματα wicked Spirits, Ep. ad Philip. St. Chrysostom calls him κοινὸν καὶ ἀκοιμήτον ἐχθρὸν, the common Enemy of the World, Chrys. in Psal. iv. Gregory Nyssen calls him, βασιλεὺς καὶ κακίας, the King of Mischief, Tract. ii. in Psalm. And θανάτου δημιουργός, the Creator of Death, Orat. iv. contr. Eunom. Nazianzen styles him ψυχῶν λαστήρ καὶ τύραννος The Robber and the Tyrant of Souls, Orat. xvi.

II. They were created good and happy, but fell into this wicked and wretched Estate, by their Pride and Disobedience to their Creator. This is plainly revealed to us in Scripture. God spared not the Angels that sinned, but cast them down to Hell, and delivered them into Chains of Darkness, to be reserved unto Judgment, 2 Pet. ii. 4. The Angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own Habitation, be bath reserved in everlasting Chains under Darkness, unto the Judgment of the great Day, Jude 6. Some of the Ancients have entertained very fanciful Opinions concerning the fall of these mighty Spirits,

Fell through
Pride and Disobedience.

this Godhead are three God-head there be ° three *Personae ejusdem essen-*

Spirits, as that they had indulged themselves in sensual Lusts, Fornication, &c. *Athanas. de Leg. Just. Mart. Apol. 1. Clem. Alex. Paedag. & Strom. Lib. iii. Tertul. de Idol. ix. Lancelant. Lib. ii. cap. 15.* But, the more general Opinion of the Antients was, that the Sin which occasioned the Fall of the Evil Angels, was Pride, which incited them to refuse the payment of their Worship and Subordination to their Creator, and to transfer it to the Chief of their Order, who headed their Rebellion. For this Opinion the Writer of the Treatise under the Name of *Athanasius* prefers to the fanciful Opinion which some had conceived concerning the Lust of Angels. *Ὁ δὲ Σατανᾶς ὅχ' ἐνεκεν πορνείας, ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ κλοπῆς κατενέχθη ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἢ ὑπερηφάνια αὐτὸν κατέβαλεν εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τ' αἰθέρων.* *Satan was driven out of Heaven, not upon account of Fornication, or Adultery, or Theft: but Pride threw him down headlong into the lowest Abyss.* *Athanas. in Orat. de Virg. St. Chrysostom* says that the reason of their being thrown out of Heaven was, *μεῖζον τ' αἰτίας φρονήσαντες*: because they arrogated more to themselves than was their due. *Chrys. Hom. xxii. in Gen. S. Cyril of Alexandria* says, that Satan being ἐπίσημος ἐν ἀγγέλοις, ἐπέσει, & συνετείσθη περὶ ἐνός ὑπέρβου καὶ τῇ μόνῃ πρέπουσαν τῇ ὑπερίσταν φύσει τιμῆντι καὶ δόξαν ἀρπάσαι τολμήσας. *An Angel of high dignity, fell and was crushed by God, for his insolent attempts, and for his endeavoring to ravish away the honour and glory, which was due alone to the divine Nature.* *Cyr. Comm. ii. in Is.* The same is expressed by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the Verses.

Τένονεν ὁ πρῶτος· ἰωσφόρος ὕψος ἀερεθείς
(Ἦ δὲ δὴ μέγαλοιο θεῷ βασιληΐδα τιμῆν
Ἥλπετο κῦδος ἔχων περὶ ὧσιν) ἄλυσεν ἀγλάν
Καὶ πέσεν ἐνθάδ' ἀτιμῶς—

For high-rai'd Lucifer, of Angels Chief,
Hoping to share the Great God's Regal Honour,
His Splendor lost, in which he did excell,
And fell from Heaven inglorious—

Greg. Naz. Car. vi. Arcan.

And so another Christian Poet.

—*Tanquam conditor esset*
Ipse sui, rabido concepit corde furorem.
Auctoremque negans, Divinum consequat (inquit)
Nomen, & aeternam ponam super aethera sedem
Excelsa similis, Summo nec viribus impar.

—*As if he were*
The Maker of himself, conceiv'd mad Rage
Within his Breast, denying his Creator.
I'll have the Honours of Divinity
(Said he) paid me: I'll have a Throne erected
Like the Eternals; in Power not inferior.

Alc. Avitus Lib. ii.

III. That since their Fall, they retain an inveterate Malice against God and his Workmanship, particularly Mankind, whom, upon all Occasions, they endeavour to seduce to a like Wickedness with their own, and to involve them in their Punishment. This the Holy Scriptures do expressly inform us of. They began the exercise of this malicious purpose, soon after the Creation, by deceiving our first Parents. Upon which account, that crafty Spirit, who was the Occasion of this Mischance, is called in Scripture the old Serpent, called the Devil and Satan which deceiveth the whole World, Rev. xii. 9. and the Serpent which beguiled Eve, through his subtilty, 2 Cor. xi. 3. He is said to go about as a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour, 1 Pet. v. 8. That we have a continual Combat with him, and all his wicked Associates. For we wrestle, not against Flesh and Blood, but against Principalities and Powers, against the Rulers of the darkness of this world, Eph. v. 12. Whereupon *Macarius*, in one of his Homilies, well says, *Ὁ πολέμιος καὶ ἁγνὸς παύσαι πολεμῶν ὁ δὲ Σατανᾶς ὁ ἀπαραγχεῖς ὅτι καὶ μισάνθρωπος· διὸ καὶ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ πολεμεῖν ἐκ ὁρᾶς.* *He is an Enemy which wages a continual War with all Men: for Satan is void of all Bowels of Compassion, and a Hater of*

Mankind, therefore he never ceases to wage War with Man. *Mac. Hom. xv.* These Wiles of the Devil are pushed on, with more Vehemence and Application, against those that are eminent for Piety. Which *S. Chrysostom* very finely remarks. *Ὡς περὶ τοῖς ἀληθεῖς ἐκ ἐνθα χόρτος ἢ καὶ ἀχρεὺς καὶ καλὰ μὴν, ἀλλ' ἐνθα χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον, ἐκὼ διαρύττεται, καὶ συνέχως ἀγρυπνεῖν ἔτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος τέτοις μάλα ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς πνευματικῶν ἀπομύνοις περὶ γυμάτων.* *As Thieves, who, not where there is Hay, or Chaff or Reeds, but where there is Gold and Silver, there break through, there they watch: so the Devil there makes his Attacks, where he finds Men eminent for spiritual Virtues,* *Chrys. Orat. Stat. i.*

o Three.] Hitherto the Articles have been declaring those Affections of the Divine Nature, which are demonstrable from the Dictates of human Reason, as well as from the Attestation of God's Word. They now proceed to declare some other Affections, which we are entirely beholding for to Revelation, That we have any Notice thereof. And the first is the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity, which informs us; That God is not so altogether one, but that his Unity does admit of a Trinity of Persons, which are, in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner, One. This great Article of our Faith is chiefly grounded upon Scripture, and the uninterrupted Tradition of the Catholick Church in all Countries and Ages; but it has likewise some Foundation in the Doctrine, both of the Jewish and Heathen Writers; who may not be without good Reason supposed to have some Traces thereof left among them, from some antient Revelation made in some very early Ages of the World, to the Progenitors both of the Jews and the Heathens; or else the latter copied it from the former. For

The Doctrine of a Trinity in the Divine Nature was received among the *Trinity of the Jews.* For this some of their celebrated Rabbies, as well as the Christian Doctors, do infer from the first Verse of *Genesis*. *Baron ebohim, &c.* The Gods created the Heaven and the Earth: no, it is not written so, but he the Gods created, &c. *Bereshith Rabba. Amar Rabbi Eliezer, &c.* Rabbi Eliezer said, The World was not created but by the WORD of the Lord: and Rabbi Simeon said, God breathed from the SPIRIT of his Mouth, and the World was created, *ibid.* So in the *Midrash Tabillim*, or antient Commentary upon the *Psalms*, *Psal. 1. 1. Elohim Jehova dabar, &c.* The Gods the Lord hath spoken, &c. *Lamma hazakir, &c.* Why did Asaph remember the name of the holy and blessed God three times? To teach you, that with these three names God created his Ages, or his Universe, his three Proprieties in which the World was created, and these are his Wisdom, his Knowledge and his Understanding. Some of the Rabbins will have the *Jod, He* and *Vau* in the name of *Jehova* to denote God's three essential Proprieties. *R. Abrah. in Lib. Jetzira.* And that Passage of *Maimonides* in his Book of the Foundations of the Law is very remarkable. *Hou hodbiang, &c.* God is the Knower, the Thing known, and Knowledge; So that these three, or (hacol achadh) all these are one. *Vid. Raimund. Martin. Pugion. Fid. p. 396: Galatin. Lib. ii. c. 4. Philo the Jew* speaks yet more expressly of the Trinity. *Δορυφορέμενος ἐν ὁ μὲν, &c.* God being on each side guarded by his Powers, affords to a perceiving Understanding, sometimes the Idea of ONE and sometimes of THREE. Of ONE when the Mind is thoroughly purged, and has not only gotten over the multitude of number, but even the Dyas (or number of two) next to the Monad (or Unit) and centers in the unmixed Incomposit, and Self-existent: Of THREE, when not yet initiated into great Mysteries it is conversant in lower matters, and cannot conceive a Being from its self, but considers it either as creative, or governing. *Phil. Lib. de Abrahamo.* Their Cabbalistical Doctrine of the Kepher the Crown, Bina Prudence, Cochem Wisdom, the Principal or Original Sephiroths, may not improbably be thought to be a part of antient Tradition among them, *vid. Dr. More's Works, Lat. p. 431. Vol. II.*

II. The Heathens likewise had a Notion of the Trinity, and that so clearly, *Heathen Trinity.* that the Heretical Opposers of this Doctrine do accuse it (though very falsely) for being derived from their Philosophy. *Plato*, who learned his Theology from the Eastern Nations, speaks of this

this great Myſtery in the Divine Nature, thus: Θεός ἐστιν ὁ πᾶσι δ' ἀνιγμῶν. ἢ ἂν τι ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἢ πόντος. ἢ γῆς ἐν πύλαις πάθῃ. ὁ ἀναγνὼς μὴ γινώσκῃ ὅδε γὰρ ἔχει. πρὸς πάντων βασιλεὺς παρ' ὅτι, καὶ ἐκείνους ἕνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἐκείνο ἀδίστονον ἀπάντων ὅντων καλῶν δούλων δε πρὸς τὰ δούτερον, καὶ τείτον πρὸς τὰ τέτα. I must now expreſs myſelf to you ſome things, by Myſteries or Riddles; which if the Letter miſcarries either by Land or by Sea, he that reads it will not Underſtand it. It is this. All things are about the King of all things: for his ſake all things were; he is the Cauſe of all that is excellent: ſecond things are about the ſecond: and third things about the Third. Plat. Epist. Dionys. cited by Eusebius, Præp. Ev. Lib. ii. He elſewhere makes mention of a πρῶτος Θεός the firſt or Original Deity; the δημιουργός, or the Creator; and the κόσμος ψυχῇ the Soul of the Uniuerſe, which Eusebius ſays he makes his Θεὸν τείτον; the third Perſon of his Trinity. The latter Platonists followed their Maſter in this Doctrine. For thus Proclus ſpeaks. Ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπὶ τὰς ἐννιάδας ἀνατρεχέιν ἑωθεῖ. καὶ πᾶσα θεία τάξις ἀπὸ μονάδος ἀρχεται. δὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τετράδι περιέχειται ὁ ἀέθριον ὁ Θεός. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τετράδα ἢ μόνος. Plato ſays, we are wont to run up from a multitude to Unity. But all the divine Order begins from One. For tho' the divine number muſt be a Trinity, yet before that Trinity there was an Unity. Procl. in Tim. Where likewiſe he cites Numenius for delivering a like Doctrine. Νυμνίου μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνυμνήσας θεούς, πατέρεα μὲν καλεῖται πρῶτον, ποιητὴν δὲ δεύτερον, ποιῆμα δ' ὁ τρίτον ὁ δὲ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν, ὁ τρίτος δὲ θεός. ὅς ἐστι κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργός δις τρεῖς, ὁ τε πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, θεός το δὲ δημιουργούμενον ὁ τρίτος. Numenius preaching up three Gods, he calls the firſt the Father, the ſecond the Worker, and the third the Work. For the World according to his Opinion is the third God. Therefore according to his Opinion, there is a twofold Worker, the firſt and the ſecond God: and that which is made is the Third. Procl. ib. It may be objected indeed, that theſe Trinities of the Jews, and Platonists, do not exactly agree with the Chriſtian Trinity. And the like may be ſaid of their way of treating of Moral Virtues: for we Chriſtians explain Juſtice, Mercy, Charity, Humility, &c. in a different manner from both Jews and Heathens; but no reaſonable Perſon will for this reaſon conclude, that the Jews and Heathens acknowledged no Natural Religion, or Moral Virtue. And tho' it ſhould be granted that thoſe, who have proſecuted at large the Arguments, for the eſtabliſhing this Chriſtian Doctrine, drawn from the Jewiſh and Heathen Trinities, have mixed ſometimes too much Fancy in their Writings; their Oppoſers in their turns have diſcovered too much unreaſonable Prejudice, and what is worſe, not a little Confidence and Buffoonery.

III. This Doctrine is revealed in Scripture. The word Trinity indeed is not to be found in Scripture: But there are ſeveral Places which afford unexceptionable Ground for the uſe of this word; for if there be three diſtinct Divine Perſons mentioned there, theſe may with the exacteſt Propriety of Expreſſion be called the Trinity; and if there be other Places, which do aſſert there is but one God, it muſt neceſſarily be concluded, that theſe Perſons are a Trinity in Unity; which makes up the whole Idea of the Chriſtian Trinity. The Paſſages for the Unity of God have been mentioned before, in the Note concerning the Unity of God. And other Places, which evince, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt to be God, ſhall be taken notice of hereafter. I ſhall at preſent only ſet down ſome Texts, which prove theſe Three to be One. When the Comforter is come, whom I will ſend unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he ſhall teſtify of me, Joh. xv. 26. When he the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all Truth: for he ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear, that ſhall he ſpeak: and he will ſhew you things to come. He ſhall glorify me: for he ſhall receive of mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you, Joh. xvi. 13, 14. In which Places, not only the Three diſtinct Divine Perſons are mentioned, but the particular Derivation of their Eſſence is illuſtrated. The Form of Baptiſm is a further Proof of this great Truth. Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghoſt, Mat. xxviii. 19. Therefore thoſe Hereticks, who would have the Son to be a Creature, and the Holy Ghoſt a Quality, do ſaſten very great Inconſiſtencies upon this Form of Baptiſm; in ſetting a Creature upon the Level with its Creator, and aſcribing a Perſonal relation to a mere Accident, which, with no Propriety of Speech, can be ſaid to have a Name, which Proſelites

ſhould be baptized in. The ſame may be proved from the Apoſtles Form of Bleſſing. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Love of God, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all. Amen. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. And ſo likewiſe from that remarkable Text of S. John. There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one. 1 Joh. v. 7. But becauſe this laſt Text of Scripture is excepted againſt, as being wanting in ſome Manuſcripts, and not being cited by ſeveral of the Antient Fathers in their Diſputes with the Arians and Macedonians; ſomething ought to be ſaid in the Defence thereof.

IV. It muſt be granted that there are many both Greek and Latin Manuſcripts, where this controverted Clauſe is omitted: as in the Alexandrian MSS. in the Queen's Library, and in ſeveral others of the French King's, cited by Father Simon in his Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament, &c. But then on the other ſide there are many others, of as good Authority, which have it. The Divines of Louvain took great Pains in their Edition of the New Teſtament, comparing it with all the MSS. which they could procure, and yet they teſtify that it was wanting only in five. Robert Stephens made uſe of ſixteen MSS. Copies, the greater part whereof had it. Lucas Brugensis made uſe of many MSS. of which he confeſſes that five Latin ones wanted it: But ſays, that all the Greek ones had it; inter omnes Græcos Parisienſium Codices ne unus eſt qui diffideat. Erasmus indeed was ſo wrought upon by the Antiquity of ſome of theſe MSS. which wanted it, as to publiſh an Edition of the Greek Teſtament without the Verſe in Controverſy, A.D. 1516. but, afterwards, in his maturer Years, and upon better Conviction, he publiſht his later Editions with it. If the Antiquity of the MSS. where the Verſe is wanting be pretended, as Father Simon and others ſet much upon this Head, it may be answered very juſtly, that the antienter they are the nigher they come to thoſe Times, when the Arians and other Antitrinitarian Hereticks prevailed, to whoſe charge the expunging the clauſe is laid. The Truth is, almoſt all MSS. of 6 or 700 Years ſtanding have the Clauſe; of thoſe of 1000 or 1200 Years ſome retain it, others omit it: But then theſe carry us upon or near the time of Arianism; and higher than that there are no MSS. at all. But that there were Copies of the new Teſtament, which had the Clauſe, before the time of Arianism, is plain from S. Cyprian, who in his Book of the Unity of the Church ſays, Quoted by S. Cyprian. *Ego & Pater unum ſumus: & iterum de Patre & Filio & Spiritu ſancto & hi tres unum ſunt: The Lord ſaith, I and my Father are One: and again, of the Father, the Son and the holy Ghoſt, and theſe Three are One. Sandius ſays this Paſſage is an Interpolation, but offers nothing in Proof of it: Father Simon ſays he meant it only of the Spirit, the Water and Blood, but S. Cyprian's plain Words better explain his Meaning than that Father's Comment on them. But however Fulgentius was as capable of underſtanding them as this French Critick. Beatiſſimus Martyr Cyprianus in Epistola de unitate Eccleſiæ conſtitetur, dicens, qui pacem Chriſti & concordiam rumpit, adverſus Chriſtum facit: qui alibi præter Eccleſiam colligit, Chriſti Eccleſiam ſpargit. Atque ut unam Eccleſiam unius Dei eſſe monſtraret, teſtimonia de Scriptura inferuit, dicit Dominus, ego & Pater unum ſumus, & iterum de Patre & Filio & Spiritu ſancto Scriptum eſt, & hi tres unum ſunt. The bleſſed Martyr S. Cyprian in his Epistle concerning the Unity of the Church confeſſes ſaying, he that breaks the Peace and Concord of the Church acts againſt Chriſt: he that Collects (i. e.) communicates elſewhere than in the Church ſcatters abroad. And to prove that there can be but one Church of one God, he brings Teſtimonies from Scriptures, as that of our Lord, I and my Father are One: and again, of the Father, the Son and the holy Ghoſt, and theſe Three are One. Fulgent. Contr. Object. Ar.*

St. Jerom lived whiſt the Arian Controverſy laſted, who ſetting forth a New Translation of the Bible, put Prologues or Prefaces before the particular Books; and one before the Catholick Epistles which has theſe words. In qua (1 Ep. Joh.) ab infidelibus Tranſlatoribus multum erratum fuiſſe a fidei veritate comperimus; tria tantummodo vocabula, hoc eſt, aqua, ſanguinis & Spiritus in ipſa ſua editione ponentibus, & Patris Verbiſque ac Spiritus Teſtimonium omittentibus, in quo maxime & fides Catholica roboratur & Patris ac Filii ac Spiritus ſancti una divinitatis ſubſtantia comprobatur. We find that great Faults have been committed by

ly the Heretical Translators; putting only the three Words, (i. e.) the Water, the Blood and the Spirit, in their Edition, and leaving out the Testimony of the Father, the Word and the Spirit, on which the Catholick Faith is very much strengthened, and the one Substance of the Father, the Son and the holy Spirit is proved. When Erasmus was pressed with this Passage by his Adversary *Stunica*, he falls foul upon S. Jerom, and says, *violentus est, parumque pudens, saepe varius parumque sibi constans: That he was a violent and confident Man, and oftentimes inconsistent with himself*, adding that he suspected he had not acted a fair part in putting in this Verse, the Copies of his Time not warranting to do it. *Erasm. An. in 1 Joh. v.* But by the way, this is as Confident and as Angry, and gives as much Suspicion of Unfairness, as any thing to be met with in S. Jerom. Thus he thinks to elude the force of St. Jerom's Authority. But Father *Simon* taking another Course, without Fear or Wit, denies S. Jerom to be the Author of the Epistle, as if he had Understood S. Jerom's Style better than Erasmus, who had dealt so much in his Works, and would have taken this Method of getting rid of S. Jerom's Authority which pressed him so hard, if he had found any Pretence for it. Father *Simon* will have the Epistle to be written by some one who collected together all the Books of S. Jerom's Version, in S. Jerom's Name: Alledging no Proof for this Assertion but only, that the Epistle is in one or two MSS. of the New Testament without a Name, and in some few others there is the Preface though the Verse be wanting. But after this way of reasoning it may be concluded, that *Virgil* never wrote his *Aeneads*, nor *Ovid* his *Fastia*; if so much weight must be laid upon the Blunders of Transcribers. And considering what ignorant People they were, we may very well think that they were like enough to put S. Jerom's Prefaces to an Arian Bible which they had copied. Not long

By Victor Uticensis.

thus, *Et ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre & Filio Spiritum sanctum doceamus, Johannis Evangelistae testimonio comprobatur: ait namque tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in celo Pater Verbum & Spiritus sanctus & hi tres unum sunt.* And to make the Unity of the Divine Persons as clear as Light, it is proved by the Authority of S. John, who says, *There are Three, &c. Bibl. Patr. Mag. Vol. iv. p. 707.* These

By Vigilinus Tapsensis.

words are cited likewise by Vigilinus Tapsensis. *Audisti superius Evangelistam Johannem in Epistola sua tam absolute testantem, tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in celo Pater, &c. You have heard before John the Evangelist so absolutely witnessing in his Epistle, There are Three which bear witness in Heaven, the Father, &c. de Trin. Lib. i. c. 5.* Add to this, that the Greek Church have the Verse, in their *Απόστολῃ* or Book of Epistles, which are read in their Church.

This is sufficient to prove, that there were Copies, in these several Ages, wherein this Verse was read. But what must be said, to account for the Omission of it by *Oecumenius* among the Greeks, and *Bede* among the Latins, who have written Notes upon this Epistle: That it should not be mentioned, either by *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, nor even by *Athanasius* nor St. *Austin*, whose Controversies with the Arians, or other Opposers of the Trinity, seem'd to invite them to the Citation of this Text, had it then been in their Bibles? This must be allowed to be a considerable Objection, but which may be accounted for, from the very great Corruption of Copies occasion'd, as S. Jerom intimates, by the Antitrinitarian Hereticks. And a fair Opportunity was given for this, by the mighty prevalency of the Arian Bishops in the East, towards the rise of that Heresie, and afterwards in the West by the Power of the Gothick Kings who were Favourers of that Opinion. Besides, as all Books of the Holy Scripture were scarce, and to be perused mostly in Libraries, so the Catholick Epistles were less read, as appears by so few of the Fathers writing Commentaries upon them; and because that when they were defending Articles of Faith, they chose to make use of Proofs chiefly drawn from the Gospel, which being generally the words of our Saviour himself, were thought to carry the greatest Authority with them: which may be the reason why they cited more frequently, *I and my Father are one*, for the Proof of the Unity in the Godhead, than the Text before mentioned.

V. The Doctrine of the Trinity was the Trinity a Doctrine received Doctrine of the Church, before of the Church before it was established by the Council of Nice. The Antitrinitarians indeed pretend, That of the Council of Nice.

it was the Invention of that Age, and That that Council innovated in the Christian Faith, by establishing this Doctrine. But it is certain, that the Christian Writers, who lived long before this Council, did maintain this Doctrine, though some of them do express themselves in somewhat a different manner, from the Divines who lived after it. For the frequent Debates which happened at and after that Council, concerning the particular controverted Points in this Doctrine, occasioned a new sort of Language among Divines, which was unknown to their Predecessors: So that it is no wonder if those antient Writers expressed themselves differently from the latter, and did not make use of a set of Words and Expressions, which were coined after their time. But however, they had for the most part the same Meaning concerning the Trinity which the others had, tho' their way of expressing it was not altogether the same. It shall content me to mention a few, of a great many which may be alledged; referring the Reader to those who have written at full upon this Argument. To begin with *Ignatius*. One can hardly think, that this Father would have expressed himself as he does, if the Doctrine of the Trinity had not been the received Doctrine of his time. *Πατὴρ ὁ ὢν ὡς εἰς ἑνὰ ῥῶον συντρέχεται θεῷ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς ἑνὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀπ' ἐνὸς πατρὸς περελθόντα, καὶ εἰς ἑνὰ ὄντα καὶ χωρησάμενα.* Do you all run as to one Temple of God, as to one Altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who goeth out from the one Father, and returneth again into him being One. *Ign. Ep. ad Mag.* *Ἦς θεὸς ὅστις ὁ φανερώσας αὐτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ὑψ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγος αἰδίδετο.* There is one God who has manifested himself by his Son Jesus Christ, who is his Eternal Word. *Ign. Ep. ad Mag.* *Ὁμολογούμεν ὅτι τῶν τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν ἀλλοιοὶ εἶναι ἀλλ' ἕξι τὸ ἀληθινά τε καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀνεπιμίκτης τὴ κακίας Θεῷ ἀλλ' ἐκείνων τε καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, &c. πνεῦμα τε τὸ προσήκον, σεβόμενα καὶ προσκυνούμενα, λόγος καὶ ἀληθεία τιμώμενα.* We confess we are Atheists in denying the Being of your supposed Gods: but not with relation to the true God, the Father of Righteousness and Temperance and of other Virtues, and who is a God unmixed with Evil. Him, together with his SON who came from him, and taught us these things, &c. as also the Prophetick SPIRIT, we adore and pay honour to, both in word and truth. *Just. Martyr. Apol. ii.* And thus *Athenagoras*, *Καὶ μὴ μοι γελοῖον τις νομίσει τὸ ὅτι εἶναι τὸ Θεῷ καὶ γὰρ ὡς ποιεῖται μυθοποιεῖσιν, ἰδὲν βελτίους ἢ ἀνθρώπων δεικνύντες, τὸς Θεῷ, ἢ πλεὶς τῶ Θεῷ τὸ καὶ πατρὸς ἢ πλεὶς τῶς καὶ πατρὸς ἡμεῶν. Ἄλλ' ὅτι ὁ καὶ Θεῷ λόγος Πατὴρ ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐν ἑσέᾳ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἑὸς ὄντος τὰ πατρὸς καὶ τὸ καὶ ὄντος ὡς ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πατρὸς ἐν καὶ ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος, καὶ καὶ λόγος, τὸ πατρὸς ὁ καὶ τὸ Θεῷ.* There is no reason that any one should think it ridiculous, that God should have a Son. For we have not the same thoughts of God the Father and the Son, as the Poets, who make their Gods not better than Men. For the SON is the word of God the FATHER in Idea and Energy. For by him were all things made, God the Father and God the Son being One: the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son, by the unity and power of the HOLY GHOST. *Athenag. Leg. pro Chr.* The Doxology used by *Clement of Alexandria* is an express Declaration of the Doctrine of the holy Trinity. *τῷ μόνῳ πατρὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα τὰ ἐνὶ ἐνὶ καὶ πάντα δι' ὃν καὶ πάντα ἐν δι' ὃν τὸ αἶν' ἢ μέλη πάντες καὶ δόξα, ζωὴς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πάντα τὰ καλὰ, πάντα τὰ σοφὰ καὶ δικαίω τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡν καὶ εἰς τὸς αἰῶνας αἰώνων.* To the one FATHER, SON and holy SPIRIT; who are all things in ONE: in whom are all things, and by whom is Eternity: whose Members all Men are: from whom proceed the glory and the Ages: who is altogether wise, and altogether righteous: to whom be glory both now and for ever. Amen. *Clem. Pæd. Lib. iii.* in the Conclusion of the Book. *Irenæus* has proved this Doctrine from the tenor of the Creed which is professed all over the World, to believe in Father, Son and Holy Ghost. *Iren. adv. Her. Lib. i. c. 2.* *Tertullian* has several Passages in his Works, for the Support of it. Particularly this. *Pro tulit Deus sermonem, &c.* "God has produced his WORD as a Root its Branch, as a Fountain its River, as the Sun its Ray. Because every Original is a Parent, and every thing

Persons, one Substance, Power, and Eternity; the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

^P Persons of one Substance Power and Eternity; the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

tia, potentia & eternitatis, Pater, Filius & Spiritus sanctus.

And he is Everlasting, MSS. C.C. 1571.

thing which is produced by the Original is an Offspring: Much more the word of God has obtained the Name of a Son. Neither is the Branch divided from the Root, neither the River from the Fountain, neither the Ray from the Sun: so neither is the Word divided from God. Therefore according to the form of these Examples, I profess my self to call God and his Word, the Father and the Son, two. For the Root and the Branch are two, but United: and the Fountain and the River are two, but yet undivided: and the Sun and the Ray two, but yet are coherent. Every thing that is generated of any thing, must be of the Nature of that by which it is generated; but yet not so as to be separate from it. There is a second where there are two, and a third where there are three. But the Spirit is a third proceeding from God and the Son: as the Fruit is a third issuing from the Root and the Branch; as a Rivulet is a third from the Stream. And the Point of the Ray is a third from the Sun. Neither is there any Separation made from the Original Deity, from whence they receive their Properties. So that the Trinity by these continued and connected Degrees taking its source from the Father, is not capable of any jarring in the Divine Government and Dispensation. *Tertul. adv. Prox. cap. viii.* After him S. Cyprian declares in favour of this Doctrine, grounding it upon the Baptifmal Form, and using the word Trinity it self. *Dominus post resurrectionem suam Discipulos suos mittens, quemadmodum baptizare deberent, instituit & docuit dicens, data est mihi omnis potestas in celo & terra: ite ergo & docete gentes omnes baptizantes eos in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti. Insinuat Trinitatem, cujus Sacramento Gentes baptizarentur.* Our Lord after his Resurrection, being about to send his Disciples, instructed and taught them how they should baptize, saying, to me is given all power in Earth; go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. He intimates a Trinity, by whose Sacrament the Nations should be baptized. *Cypr. ad Jub.* This is sufficient to shew, that the Doctrine of the Trinity was the current Persuasion of the Church, before the starting of the Arian Heresie.

^p Persons.] The word *Person*, as it denotes one of the Subsistencies of the Divine Nature, which are in Holy Scripture called by the Name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, is not indeed to be found in the inspired Writings; but it owes its rise to Ecclesiastical Usage, being a Term which is very properly accommodated to denote that Distinction in the Deity.

I. The word *Persona* which we translate Person does primarily signify a Visor or Mask; which was antiently, for the most part, worn in the acting of Plays. From whence by an easy Metaphor, it came to signify the part which any one acted, or the Character which he sustained. Hence that of Cicero. *Tres personas unus sustineo, meam, adversarii, judicis.* I sustain three Persons, my own, that of an Adversary, and that of a Judge. Sometimes it was used to signify those remarkable Qualities which distinguished one Man from another, and fixed the Notices of difference and Individuation. The former was the civil Law Sense of the word, and the latter the Grammatical; but it was upon this account, that the first, second and third Person had their Names given to them in Grammar.

II. The earliest Writer that we have, who has applied this word to the Trinity is Tertullian. As particularly in this Passage in his Book against Praxeas, *Hic erit Deus, & sermo Dei Filius.*

Videmus duplicem statum, non confusum sed conjunctum in una PERSONA, Deum & Hominem Jesum. Here will be God, and the word the Son of God. We see a twofold State, not confounded but conjoined in one PERSON, God and the Man Jesus. *Tert. adv. Prax. Cap. xxvii.* He is followed by the Author of the Book

de Trinitate, supposed to be Novatian; who calls Christ *secundam personam post Patrem*: the second Person next to the Father. *Cap. xxi.* The same word is used by S. Hilary. *Una substantia, si non personam subsistentem perimat nec unam substantiam partitam in duos dividat, religiose predicabitur.* The Trinity may be religiously said to be one Substance, if thereby we do not destroy personal Subsistence, or divide one Substance into two. *Hil. Lib. de Synod.* And by S. Ambrose. *Sicut Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus sanctus est, non tamen tres Dii sunt, sed unus Deus tres habens Personas: ita & anima intellectus, anima voluntas, anima memoria: non tamen tres anime in uno Corpore, sed una anima tres habens dignitates.* As the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet there are not three Gods but one God; but one God having three PERSONS: so the Understanding is the Soul, the Will is the Soul, and the Memory is the Soul, and yet there are not three Souls in one Body, but one Soul having three Powers. *Ambr. de dign. cond. hum.* By S. Jerom, *Sed quia illa sola natura est perfecta, & in tribus personis Deitas una consistit, quae est verè & una natura est, &c.* Because the divine Nature only is perfect, and the one Deity which is one Nature consists of three PERSONS, &c. *Hier. Ep. lvii. ad Dam.* And S. Austin, *Itaque loquendi causa de ineffabilibus, ut fari aliquo modo possemus, quod effari modo possumus, dictum est a nostris Graecis, una essentia tres Personae: quia, sicut jam diximus, non abiter in sermone nostro, i.e. Latino, essentia quam substantia solet intelligi.* Now to speak of ineffable things, the Greeks say there is one Essence and three Persons: because as we observed before, in our Latin Tongue, Essence signifies the same with Substance. *Aug. vii. Trin. c. 4.* This Doctrine of the Latin Fathers concerning the Personal Substance in the Deity being taken into Peter Lombard's Sums, was delivered down to the Schools, who branched it out into many Niceties, *vid Thom. Sum. Par. i. Bannes. in i. Thom. Q. 29. &c.*

III. But it must be noted that, as the Latins used the word *Person* to denote the particular Subsistences in the Divine Nature, so the Greeks used the word *ὁμοουσιος* to signify the same; and sometimes the word *πρόσωπον*. For thus Gregory Nazianzen. *Τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ εἰσὶα γινώσκουμεν, ἐν τῷ ἀμείνω τῷ προσκυνησέμεν τὰ θεῖα, τοὺς ὑποστάσεις, εἴτ' ἐν προσώποις.* We acknowledge one indeed as to Essence, in the indivisible of Adoration, but three, as to Hypostases, or Persons, *Greg. Naz. Or. xxxii.* And so Theodoret: *Ὡς περὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπου ὄνομα κοινὸν ἐστὶ ταύτης τῆ οὐσίας, ἔτω τὸ θεῖον εἶδος ἀγίαν τεὰ δὲ σημαίνειν εἰλήφαμεν, τὸ δ' ὑπόστασιν προσώπων τινος εἶναι διλωτικὴν, ὅσον, ἢ τὸ πᾶν πατέρος ἢ πᾶν υἱός, ἢ πᾶν πνεύματος, τὸ δ' ὑπόστασιν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ τὸ ἰδιότης, ταύτων σημαίνειν ὁμῶς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀγίαν πατέρα ὅμοιους ἀκολουθεῖν.* As Man is the common Name of his Nature; so have we learned to denote the Trinity: but the word Hypostasis does denote one of the Persons, either Father, Son or Holy Ghost. For following the Determinations of the holy Fathers, we take Hypostasis, Person and Idiom to signify the same thing. *Theod. Dial. 3. Tom. iv.* But then it must be considered, that it was some time before the whole Greek Church could be brought to an universal Use of this word to signify Person. For some of the Orthodox used the word *ὁμοουσιος* to signify the Essence of the Deity, which Differences were endeavoured to be settled by the Council of Alexandria, A.D. 362. soon after which the Greeks constantly Understood the same by *ὁμοουσιος* that the Latins did by *Persona*.

The word *πρόσωπον*, as it was not subject to the like Ambiguity in the Greek Language with *ὁμοουσιος*, so it was not liable to the same Exceptions. This is frequently used by S. Basil. *Εἰς δὲ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁμοῦσι τινες ἐν τῷ υποκειμένῳ πατέρι καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι λέγουσιν, τέλει δ' ὑποστάτων τέλει ὁμολογεῖσιν, &c.* If there be any among you, who say Father, Son and Holy Ghost, are in one Subject, confessing three perfect Persons, &c. *Basil. Ep. 349.* So likewise by Epiphanius.

The Greeks expressed the same by Hypostasis.

ARTICLE II.

II. Of the Word of God *Of the Word or Son of God, who* II. * De Verbo five Fi-
made very Man. *was made very Man.* lio Dei, qui verus
Homo factus est.

The Son which is the *The^a Son which is^b the Word* *Filius, qui est verbum*

* Verbum dei verum hominem esse
factum. *Art. Ed. VI.*

nins. Τρις αὐτὸ τὸ πᾶσις, καὶ τὸ υἱὸς, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸ ἀγίον
τὰς ἰδιότητας, προσώπων ὑπάρχοντων ὑπερδύσεως οὐνοῦ καὶ οὐρα
ἀνατολικοί. The Proprieties of the subsistent Persons of Fa-
ther, Son and Holy Ghost, the Orientals call Hypostases. Eph.
Hær. lxxiii. n. 17. But then to these Personalities they
allowed but one Sameness of Essence. Indeed the Simi-
litudes which are used by the Antients, as for Instance, of
three Individual Men being one in their common Specifick
of Nature of Humanity, have given an handle for
some to fancy, that some of the Fathers have taught that
Father, Son and Holy Ghost, were as distinct Persons
from each other as Peter, James and John; but as those
Similitudes are not to be carried further, than they are de-
signed to illustrate what they are brought for, so the same
Fathers sometimes speak with more Caution and Exact-
ness. S. Athanasius writes. Ἡ γὰρ τὸ υἱὸς θεότης τὸ πᾶσις
θεότης ἐστίν· καὶ ὅπως ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ
πατρί. The Divinity of the Son is the Divinity of the Fa-
ther. And so the Father in the Son takes care in the Pro-
vidence of all things. Ath. Orat. iv. Again. Μονὴ δὲ ἡ θεότης
τὸ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀχώριστον. The Unity of the Deity is insepa-
rable and indivisible. id. Or. v. Gregory Nazianzen speak-
ing of the three Persons of the Deity says. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν
ἐκαστῷ αὐτῶν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ συσχεόμενον, ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ταυτὸς
καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα. Every Person has not only Unity with
that with which it is joyned, but also with it self, by reason of
the sameness of Essence and Power. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxxvi.
So S. Basil. Ἐν γὰρ καὶ δύο τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει καὶ
διεξουσίᾳ ἑστὶ ὁ τὰ δύο λέγων πρόσωπα, ἀλλοτεῖταις ἐπι-
σάγει· εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ· εἷς θεὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς· καὶ ὁ υἱὸς θεὸς· ἐ-
πειδὴ ταυτότητα ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. Although they
be two in number by Nature they are not divided: neither
he that asserts two Persons, does infer two different Beings.
There is one God and Father; and one God and Son: and
yet there are not two Gods. For the Son has the same Es-
sence with the Father. Bas. contr. Sabell. S. Cyril speak-
ing of the Son thus expresses himself. Ἐν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν
πατέρα γεννῆται ταυτότητι, οὐσικῶς, καὶ τὸ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἰδίαν
ὑπάρχων καὶ νοῦμαι. He is one with his Father according to
his natural Sameness: yet he exists and understands accord-
ing to his proper Hypostasis. Cyr. Lib. x. cont. Jul. And
again Πατὴρ γὰρ ὁ πᾶσις, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ υἱὸς, καὶ πνεῦμα τὸ πνεῦ-
μα· ἀλλ' ἐν ἡ τὸ εἷος ταυτότης συλλέγει πρὸς ἑνωσιν.
The Father is Father, the Son Son, and the Holy Ghost the
Holy Ghost, but yet the Sameness of their Essence collects
them into an Unity. id. Lib. iv. contr. Jul.

a Son.] The Places of Scripture are innumerable in
which our blessed Lord is called the Son of God, and em-
phatically the Son. It is foretold to the blessed Virgin be-
fore his Nativity, that the holy thing which shall be born of
her shall be called the Son of God, Luke i. 35. S. Mark en-
titles his History The Gospel of Christ the Son of God, Mark
i. 1. God the Father declares by a Voice from Heaven,
This is my beloved Son, Mat. iii. 17. The very Devils own
the same, What have we to do with thee Jesus thou Son of
God, Mat. viii. 29. S. John bears record that he is the Son
of God, John i. 34. St. Paul says, that he lived by the Faith
of the Son of God, Gal. ii. 20. and that the Jews crucified
the Son of God. Nay 'tis particularly remarkable that about
our Saviour's Time the Title of the Son of God was a sy-
nonymous Name with that of the Messias. For Nathaniel
owns our Saviour to be the Messias in these words, Rab-
bi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel,

John i. 49. The Devils use the same Expression, which
the Text explains to be meant of the Messias. The De-
vils also came out of many, crying out and saying, Thou art
Christ the Son of God. And he rebuking them suffered them
not to speak, for they knew that he was Christ, Luke. iv. 41.
Martha declares her Faith in confessing, I believe that thou
art the Christ the Son of God, which should come into the
World, John xi. 27. St. Peter's remarkable Confession de-
notes the same, We believe and are sure, that thou art that
Christ the Son of the living God, John vi. 69.

He is in other Places called emphatically the Son, and
the only begotten Son of God. No Man knoweth the Son,
but the Father, Mat. xi. 27. He that believeth on the Son
hath everlasting Life, John iii. 36. The Father loveth the
Son, John. iii. 35. The Father hath sent the Son, 1 John
iv. 14. He that hath not the Father hath not the Son, 1 John
v. 12. He is elsewhere called the only begotten of the Fa-
ther, Joh. i. 14. And God in sending Christ is said to
give his only begotten Son, John iii. 16. The Author to
the Hebrews says, that God offered up his only begotten
Son, Heb. xi. 17. And S. John that he sent his only begot-
ten Son that we might live, 1 John iv. 9. Now there are
two Reasons principally assignable, why Christ should
be called the Son of God. The first is, that he was born
by the miraculous Power of God, and not after the ordi-
nary way of human Generation. And this Reason the ho-
ly Scripture gives for this Appellation; when it relates the
Address of the Angels to the blessed Virgin. The holy
Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest
shall overshadow thee: Therefore also that holy thing which
shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God, Luke i.
35. The second Reason is, Because God the Father com-
municated the Divine Essence to him, after the same Na-
ture and Similitude of his own infinite Existence. Upon
which account the Apostle calls him, the Image of God,
the brightness of his Glory, and the express Image of his Per-
son, 2 Cor. iv. 4. Heb. i. 3. Which ineffable Generation
the Apostle does infinitely prefer to that of Angels. For
unto which of the Angels said he at any time, thou art my
Son, this day have I begotten thee? Heb. i. 5.

b The Word.] This Expression of the
Word to denote the Son of God or the
second Person of the Trinity, seems to
have taken its rise originally from the
Jews. For the Jewish Paraphrasts, some
of which are older than Christianity, do
frequently make use of it. For so Gen. xxviii. 20. If
the Lord shall be with me; Onkelos paraphrases: ein jehi
meirah daijah besangadbi, If the WORD of the Lord
shall be to my Assistance. So Deut. xix. 20. Whosoever will
not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name,
I will require it of him. Onkelos paraphrases. If any
man shall not obey my words which he shall speak in my
name; my WORD shall require it of him. So Jer. xxvii.
5. I made the earth, and men and beasts on the face of the
earth: The Paraphrase explains it: I bemeiri by my WORD
made the earth, &c. Nor is this peculiar only to Onkelos,
but the other Targums do the same. For on Gen. iii. 22.
The Lord God said, behold man is become as one of us, &c.
The Targum of Jerusalem comments thus. The WORD
of the Lord God said, &c. And so on Gen. xix. 24. The
Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire.
The Targum of Jerusalem Paraphrases, The WORD of
the Lord made to descend the rain, &c. And the Targum
of Jonathan, The WORD of the Lord sent down rain,
&c. So on Exod. xx. 1. God spake all these words saying,
The

Word of the Father, took Man's Nature; of the Father, begotten from Everlasting of the Father; *Patris, ab aeterno a patre genitus, verus*

The Targum of Jerusalem paraphrases, *Umallat meira, &c.* The *WORD* of the Lord spake all the praise of these Words. It would be tedious to cite more of the like Passages, whereof these Paraphrases are full; from whence may be learned that the Doctrine of the Word, as being a Person of the Divine Essence, or at least an energetical or demiurgical Power by which God acted, was commonly received among the Jews, when these Commentaries were written. And it must be further observed, that *Philo*, agreeable to his Country-men the Targumists, attributes the Divine Actions, in making and governing the World, to the λόγος or Word. This he calls δεύτερον θεόν a second God, *Phil. Quest. & Sol.* and says, ὁ λόγος τῷ θεῷ ὑπερέχων πάντις ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ γυναικώτατος ὅς οὐα γίγνται. The Word of God does excel the whole World, and is more ancient and more noble than any thing that is made, *Leg. Alleg. Lib. ii.* He elsewhere calls the Word ὁργάνον θεοῦ δι' ὃν κόσμος κατεσκευάσθη: The Agent of God by whom he made the World. *Lib. de Caino.* And in another Place he thus describes the λόγος or Word, ὁ δὲ ὑπερέχων πάντων λόγος θεῷ, εἰς ὁρτὴν ἐκ ἡλθεν ἰδέσθαι αἶψα μηδὲν ἄλλ' κατ' αἰδέσθαι ἐμοίης ἐν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ὑπάρχων θεῷ, ὅς οὐκ ἀπαξάπαντων ὁ πρεσβύτατος, ὁ ἐξυτάτος, μηδὲν ὄντος μεθ' οὗ διασέμας, τῷ μόνῳ ὃ ἐστὶ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἀρδευμένον. The divine Word is more excellent than all things, there is no Idea of it, nor can it come under Perception, it self being the Image of God, the most ancient of all the Intelligibles, between whom and the most high there is no intermediate Being, being most truly like unto him. *Phil. de Profug.* Besides, that the Jews generally received the Doctrine of the Logos, we have the Testimony of *Celsus* in *Origen*, who personated a Jew. Ἐλθὲν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαινοῦμεν. If among you the Logos be esteemed the Son of God, we agree with you in this. *Or. adv. Cels. Lib. ii.* Indeed *Origen* denies this to be the Doctrine of the Jews; and the learned Bishop *Pearson* thinks, that the Jews had changed their Opinion, between the time of *Celsus* his Writing his Book, and *Origen's* Answer, which was about 60 Years: But that does not appear. It is more probable, that the Jews whom *Origen* had conversed with, did dissemble the received Opinion of the Jews, than that they had laid that Doctrine aside. The Jerusalem-Targum was in all probability written after *Origen's* time, for some where or other it mentions the Kingdom of Lombardy, which was not erected in Italy till 500 Years after Christ; and yet we find frequent mention of the Meirab or Logos in that Paraphrase. The Cabbalistical Jews lived after the compiling of this Paraphrase; and yet we find that they are not only very express as to the Logos or second Person of the Trinity, but also to all the three Persons. Witness, that remarkable Passage of an ancient Cabbalist, cited by *Grotius* in his Annotations upon the first of *S. John*. *Abb elolim elosim, &c.* The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God; three in one, and one in three. Now it being the received Doctrine of the Jewish Church, that the Messiah was to be the Son of God, and also that the Son of God was what they called the Meirab or Logos; *S. John* applied this Appellation to our blessed Saviour, who being the true Messiah had a right to that Title.

c Father.] I. The first Person of the blessed Trinity is, in holy Scripture, most usually stiled by the Name of the Father, as *Mat. xi. 27.* All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no Man knoweth the Son but the Father: neither knoweth any Man the Father save the Son. So *Mat. xxviii. 19.* Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, &c. *John i. 14.* We beheld his Glory, as of the only begotten of the Father. *John iii. 35.* The Father loveth the Son, &c. *John v. 22.* The Father judgeth no Man, but hath committed all Judgment unto the Son: and verse 23. That all Men should honour the Son as they honour the Father. *John viii. 19.* Ye neither know me nor my Father.

II. But besides the alledging these Paternity of God and other Passages of Scripture, the approved from the ancient Fathers do deduce the Paternity or Fatherhood of the Divine Nature, from the natural Fecundity of it, and the Absurdity of admitting a Sterility in the Godhead. For thus *S. Cyril* argues. Τέλειος ὁ θεός, ὅτι

ὅτι μέγαν ἐστὶν θεός, ἀλλ' ὅτι πατήρ. εἰ γὰρ ἀπέλοις τῷ θεῷ τὸ εἶναι πατέρα, ἀναρρήσεις τὴν θείαν φύσιν τὴν καρπογόνον, ἵνα μηκέτι τὸ τέλειον ἔχοι, λέγοντος αὐτῇ τὸ γέναν. γυνώσκοντες τοίνυν τὸ τέλειον ἢ καρπογονία, καὶ σφραγὶς τῷ πατρὶ τὸ εἶναι τέλειον, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς περιελάβεν ἀχρεῖως υἱός. God is perfect, not only because he is God, but because he is a Father. For if you take the Fatherhood from God, you will take away the Fecundity of the Divine Nature, which will take off from his Perfection, since he will then want the Power of generating: for Fecundity is a mark of Perfection: and the Son's eternally going out from the Father is a Seal or sure Mark that God is perfect. *Cyr. Thef. v.* With a like Argument *Athanasius* exposes the Absurdity of the Arian Doctrine. Ἐλθὲν γὰρ καὶ καρπογόνος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ ἡ θεία φύσις, ἀλλ' ἐρημὸς κατ' αὐτὸς, ὡς φῶς μὴ φωτίζων, καὶ πηγὴ ξηρὰ, πῶς δημιουργικὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγοντες, ἐκ ἀχρηστοντα, καὶ ἀναρρῆντες τὸ κατὰ φύσιν πῶς τὸ κατὰ βέλυσιν περιβαλλόντες ἐκ ἐρηθείωσιν. But if the Divine Nature be not fruitful, but barren as the Arians pretend, like a Light which does not enlighten, or a Fountain which is dry, how are they not ashamed to allow him a creative Energy? for when they have taken away from him that which is according to Nature, they may be ashamed to allow him that which he has according to his Will. *Athan. Or. ii.*

III. It is observed, that Fatherhood God more properly is more properly attributed to God the Father, than it is to any Creature. This Observation is very much insisted on by several of the Antients. *St. Athanasius* expresses himself upon this Head thus. Ἐπὶ τῇ θεότητι μόνος ὁ Πατήρ κυρίως Πατήρ ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κυρίως υἱὸς ἐστὶ. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ μόνων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πατήρ καὶ τὸ υἱός. The Father only in the Divine Nature is properly a Father, and the Son properly a Son: and in these only it comes to pass, that the Father is always a Father, and the Son is always a Son. *Athan. Orat. ii.* So *Faustinus* in his Treatise against the Arians. *Deus solus proprie verus est Pater, quia sine initio & sine Pater est. Non enim aliquando cepit esse quod Pater est, sed semper Pater est, semper habens filium ex se genitum.* Only God is properly a true Father, because he always was a Father, and always will be. For he never began to be a Father, but is always a Father, having always a Son begotten of himself. *Gregory Nazianzen* argues the same Propriety of Fatherhood, from the Father's not being a Son, nor the Son a Father. Πατήρ κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ υἱός. ὡς καὶ υἱὸς κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πατήρ. τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα, ὁ κυρίως, ὅτι καὶ ἀμφω. εἰ γὰρ τὸδε μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸδε. καὶ ἢ ἀμφοῖν ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἐνός, ὡς μετ' ἑαυτοῦ, &c. He is with exact Propriety a Father, because he is no Son; and again, the Son is most properly a Son, because he is no Father. But as for us, we can properly be called by neither Name, because we are both Fathers and Sons: not one more than the other; and being born not of one, but two Parents, we are divisible, &c. *Greg. Naz. Orat. xxiii.*

IV. God the Father by this Communication of his Essence is the Fountain of the Deity, from which the two other Persons derive their Natures, by an eternal flux of the Godhead. And therefore the ancient Divines, for this reason, call him emphatically the Principle, the Cause, the Unbegotten, the first Light, &c. *Nazianzen* calls him ἀρχὴν, αἰτίον καὶ πρῶτον: The Principle, the Cause, the Fountain, *Or. xxix.* *S. Chrysostom* says, Πατὴρ αἰτίος τῷ χριστῷ κατὰ τὸ παλαιοῦ: The Father is the Cause of Christ as he is the Father. *Chrys. Hom. in 1 ad Cor.* *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, calls him, in his Letter, ἀγέννητον πατέρα, εἰδὲνα τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰτίον ἔχοντα: The unbegotten Father, who has no cause of his Essence. *Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 3.* He is stiled by *Athanasius*, ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀκαίσιος καὶ ἀπάτωρ: Unbegotten, without Cause, without Father. *Athan. Dial. 1. contr. Maced.* *Dionysius* speaking of Christ says, δι' ὃν καὶ ἀρχαῖον πατέρα προσαγορὴν ἱσχυόμεθα: By whom we have access to the Original Light the Father. *Dionys. Hier. Cap. i. num. 2.*

d Begotten from Everlasting.] I. This may be concluded from the holy Scripture, which does in several Places point out to us this eternal Generation. This may be proved from

Eternal Generation of the Son proved from Scripture.

ture in the Womb of the ^every and ^feternal God, & *eternus Deus ac Pa-*

those Places of Scripture, which do assert our Saviour's Pre-existence before the World was made. As that of our Saviour, *O Father glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the World was,* John xvii. 5. By him all things were created, Col. i. 16. By whom he made the Worlds, Heb. i. 2. All things were made by him, John i. 3. And particularly from the first Verse of that Chapter, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God.* Where the Antients understood the Words in the beginning of Eternity. For thus Theophylact, *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἢ τῇ αἰῶνι, καὶ ἀπείρῳ, δηλωτικὸν ἐστίν.* The words in the beginning do denote an Infinite and Eternal Existence. And before him S. Chrysostom. *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἢ, ὅθεν ἐτερον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ ἴδιον ἀνελωτικὸν καὶ ἀπείρῳ ἴδιον:* In the beginning is nothing else but a Demonstration that the Word had a Being from eternity and infinitely. Chrys. Hom. ii. in John. But when the Apostle sets the Generation of the Son far above that of Angels, Heb. i. 5. *Unto which of the Angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, &c.* it follows that the Generation of the Son must be Eternal.

II. This was the Universal Doctrine of the Church, till it was contradicted of the Church, till by Arius. For this eternal Generation of the Son was a thing which he could not brook, and therefore bent all his Thoughts to oppose it. And therefore in his Letter heavily complains, that he was deposed by Alexander his Bishop, for not espousing the Doctrine of the eternal Generation. *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνωμῶμεν αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ λέγοντι, αἰὶ θεὸς, αἰὶ υἱός, ἀμὰ πατὴρ, ἀμὰ υἱός, συνπαράχει ὁ υἱὸς ἀγέννητος τῷ θεῷ ἀγεννήτως, ἀγεννητογενής. ἢ ἐμπνοία, ἢ ἐκ ἀπώρου τινὶ προέγει ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱόν, αἰὶ θεός, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὁ υἱός.* Because we will not agree with him, when he publicly teaches, that the Son was always God, was always a Son, that there was always a Father, and always a Son; that the Son did co-exist (ἀγεννήτως) as the Arians would make the Orthodox speak, but as they expressed themselves (ἀγεννητογενής) unmade with God: eternally begotten, begotten of the unbegotten, that God was not in thought or so much as a moment of time before the Son: that the Son was always God, and Son of God himself. Epiph. Hær. lxi. Sect. 6. In which words whilst he endeavours to expose the Orthodox Faith, he shews the very Spirit and Soul of his Heresie.

In Opposition to this Heresie, and others that were derived from it, the Antients have advanced several Arguments, (besides the several Texts of Scripture, and the necessity of a Person which does partake of the Divine Nature having an eternal Existence) for the support of the Doctrine of Christ's eternal Generation.

III. Because he derives his Being from an eternal Father, and therefore he must be an eternal Son. For thus S. Cyril of Alexandria argues. *Τὸ ἐξ αἰδίου γεννηθῆναι πατρὸς, αἰδίου τε διὰ τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπαγχαται τὸ εἶναι αἰὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὡς αἰὶ τὸν πατέρα.* The Son because he is born of an eternal Father did eternally Exist: for his Father's Dignity was communicated to him Substantially. Cyr. Lib. vi. in John. S. Hilary, *Quod ab aeterno nascitur, habet æternum esse quod natum est.* That which is born of an Eternal, must have Eternity likewise by virtue of its Birth. Hilar. cont. Ar. Lib. xii.

IV. Because God is a perfect Being. S. Cyril having shewn that even the Creatures of God, when they come to Maturity and Perfection, do produce their Species, concludes, *Τὸ δὲ ἐκ αἰῶνος ὅσον ἔστιν τὸ παλαιόν, τίττειν τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀχέτως αἰὲς συναΐδιον αὐτῇ; ἢ γὰρ δὴ ποτε φέσκειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἐκ χειρὸς τὸ τέλειον ἔχειν ἢ τὸ παλαιόν ὅσον αὐτῷ ὡς αὐτῷ ἔχουσα καὶ ὅτε παλαιότερος τινὸς δεομένη, ἔτε μὴ οὐκ ἀποσπῆναι δύναμένη.* What should hinder why the Substance of the Father, when it was perfect, should beget that which is born of it, before all time and Co-eternal to it self? For it cannot be said, that the Substance of the Father gained Perfection in time, which always was the same, nor was capable of Increase or Diminution, Cyr. Thef. v. The same Argument is thus urged by Plotinus. *Καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἡδὴ τέλεια, γέννα τὸ ὅτι αἰὶ, τέλειον, αἰὶ, καὶ αἰδίου γέννα.* Those things that are perfect generate something; therefore that which was always perfect, did eternally Generate, and that an eternal Being. Plotin. Enn. v. Lib. i. Cap. 6. Athanasius urges the same with something more force. *Ἀρθεῖσιν μὲν γὰρ ἰδίον τὸ ἐκ χειρὸς*

γεννᾶν διὰ τὸ ἀτελές τὸ φύσει, θεὸς δὲ αἰδίου τὸ γέννημα διὰ τὸ αἰὲν τέλειον τὸ φύσει. It is the property of Men to generate in time, by reason of the Imperfection of their Nature: but the Generation of God is Eternal, because of the eternal Perfection of his Nature. Athan. Or. ii.

V. Because the Son is the Wisdom of God: Therefore since God did from all Eternity Understand, his Son which is his Divine λόγος or his Wisdom or Understanding, must likewise eternally Exist. For thus S. Austin. *Quenam est illa generatio, qua in Principio erat Verbum, &c. vel quod est hoc verbum, quod dicturus antea non silebat: quo dicto non siluit qui dicebat: quod est verbum sine tempore, per quod facta sunt tempora? Verbum quod labia nullius aperuit captum, clausitve finitum? What is that Generation, by which in the beginning was the Word, &c. Or what is that Word, which when he was about to speak he was not silent before: and being spoken, he that did speak was not silent? What is that Word without time, by which the times were made? A Word which never began to be spoken, and never will cease?* Aug. Ser. i. de Div. Nat. All which is an Allusion to the Platonick Notion of the Logos, and the Eternity of the Divine Ideas: *ἢ γὰρ τὰς ἰδέας νοήσεις θεῶν αἰώνιος τε καὶ ἀποτέλει:* The Ideas and Understandings of God are Eternal and Self-perficient. Alcin. C. 9.

VI. Because God is immutable; and therefore could never come to be a Father, having not been Eternally so. Because of God's Immutability. For thus S. Ambrose. *Si Pater esse cepit, Deus ergo primo erat, postea Pater factus est. Quomodo ergo immutabilis Deus? si enim antea Deus postea Pater, utique generationis accessione mutatus est? If he began to be a Father, he was first God and afterwards a Father. How then is God immutable? But if he be first God and afterwards a Father, he is then changed by the Accession of Generation.* Ambr. Lib. i. de fid.

c Very and eternal God.] I. Our Saviours being the true and eternal God, as it is an essential Article of our Faith, grounded upon the clear Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, and the uninterrupted Tradition of the Catholick Church, so there have not been wanting some Hereticks, who in several Ages of the World have opposed this fundamental Truth, though the main Body of Christians have in the several Ages maintained it. The first Person who opposed this Truth was Cerinthus, who lived very early in the Church, and poisoned several with his Heresie before the Apostle St. John wrote his Gospel, which occasioned that Apostle to be more express in his Writings concerning the Divinity of our blessed Lord, than the rest of the Evangelists. Epiph. Hær. li. x. In the second Century the same Heresie was revived by Theodotus, who upon that account was excommunicated by Victor I. Bishop of Rome. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. Theod. Hær. Fab. Lib. ii. cap. v. After these followed, in the same pestilent Doctrines, Sabellius, Samosatenus and Plotinus; who (as Theodoret speaks Dial. ii.) ἀνθεσπὸν μόνον κενύσας τὸν Χεῖρον: Taught that Christ was only Man. In the beginning of the fourth Century, this Truth, though in a different manner, was opposed by Arius: who allowing his Pre-existence denied him to be true God, and eternally Co-existent with the Father, and asserted him only God by a temporary Participation of the Divine Essence; that he was only a κτίσμα, a ποῖημα, a Creature or a Workmanship. Athan. Or. i. Ep. Hær. lxi. All which was, as Sozomen well remarks, at that time very novel Doctrine among Christians. *Ὡς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς παρ' ἐτέρῃ μὴ ἐξημένῳ πληρῶσαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπορήναδς, τὸν υἱὸν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ἐκ ὧν τὸν γέννησας, καὶ εἶναι ποτε ὅτε ἐκ ἡν. καὶ αὐτεξουσίᾳ κακίας, καὶ ἀρετῆς δούλικον ὑπαρχειν καὶ κτίσμα καὶ ποῖμα:* That he was the first that dared to vent in the Church, That the Son of God was of things that are not, and That there was a time when he was not, That he was endowed with a freedom of Will to do evil as well as good, that he was a Creature and God's Workmanship. Soz. Lib. i. c. 15.

II. But notwithstanding these Oppositions, the Orthodox Truth made its way, by the force of the Arguments, in behalf of our Saviour's Divinity, drawn from Scripture; as also by the Declaration and Judgment of several General Councils, which attested the Doctrine of the respective Churches in the several Parts of the World, and condemned the Opposers thereof for Innovators.

Now

Scriptural Passages which prove our Saviour's Pre-existence. Now the Scriptural Authority does establish this Doctrine. 1. By such Passages which positively assert, or necessarily infer, our Saviour's Pre-existence; whereby the Errors of the Photinians, Samosatzenians, Sabellians, &c. and such

like Hereticks, who would not allow our Saviour to have had an Existence before his Incarnation, are confuted. 'Tis plain by the Evangelical History, that John the Baptist was some Months older than our Saviour; and yet the same Baptist himself positively declares, our Saviour's having a Being before him. *This is he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me,* John i. 15. Our Saviour himself frequently mentions his coming down from Heaven. He said, he was the living Bread which came down from Heaven, John vi. 51. *I came down from Heaven not to do my own Will, but the Will of him that sent me,* John vi. 38. *He that cometh from Heaven is above all,* John iii. 31. *I came forth from the Father and came into the World: again, I leave the World and go to the Father,* John xvi. 27, 28. These were such strong and evident Proofs of our Saviour's Pre-existence, that they perfectly silenced the old Photinians and Samosatzenians, so that their Heresies soon dwindled away. The Socinians who have revived those Heresies, have employed all their Subtlety to evade the force of them, but in vain: and have at last been forced to take up with a ridiculous Fable of their Invention, that Christ during the time of his Retirement into the Wilderness, ascended up into Heaven, to be more perfectly instructed in the Will of his Father; and that to this imaginary Ascent and Descent these Texts refer. Socin. *Christ. Rel. Inst. ejusd. Resp. ad Andr. Volan.* Crell. de Uno Deo Patre. Volkelius Lib. 3. De Rel. c. 5. Smalc. Hom. i. in 1 cap. John. But this is an impudent Subterfuge of these Hereticks, to feign such an important Part of the Gospel History, which the sacred Writers mention not one word of, nay which they expressly contradict. For S. Luke says expressly, that he was forty Days tempted of the Devil, Luke iv. 2. And S. Mark as expressly says, That he was in the Wilderness forty Days tempted of Satan, Mark i. 13. Now to be in Heaven, according to the Socinian Supposition, and to be in the Wilderness, are two very different things; and to be tempted of the Devil, and to be instructed by God, have not a much higher Relation. But granting this idle Fancy had some weight in it; yet it would serve only to evade the force of some of the Texts before-mentioned; but it would avail nothing against other most express Passages of our Saviour's Pre-existence. As that of S. Paul, *When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son made of a Woman made under the Law,* Gal. iv. Which words do suppose, that the Son who was sent forth was with the Father, before his Mission. And that of S. John, *The Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us,* John i. 14. Which words imply that the Word had a Being, before it was made Flesh, and before it came to dwell among us. This plainly proves our Saviour's Pre-existence some time before his Nativity. There are other Passages which prove his Existence, during the most Antient times of the History of the Old Testament. That he had an Existence in the time of David, does appear from Psalm cx. *The Lord said unto my Lord, &c.* which our Saviour himself says, is to be understood of the Messiah, Mat. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 44. For if he was David's Lord, he must necessarily have a Being in David's time. Nay, before that he had a Being, viz. in Moses his time, when the Israelites were in the Wilderness. For this the Apostle S. Paul does witness, when he says, *Neither let us tempt Christ as some of them also tempted,* 1 Cor. x. 9. Now if Christ was tempted by the Israelites, he must have a Being at the same time when he was tempted. To go yet farther backwards, he had a Being in the time of Abraham, as appears by the express Attestation of our Saviour himself, who said *Before Abraham was I am,* John viii. 58. S. Paul dates his Being to have existed before all things, Col. i. 17. And our Saviour himself speaks of his Existence in Glory before the Creation of the World. *And now O Father glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee, before the World was,* John xvii. 5. These Texts which have been alledged do carry our Saviour's Existence to an indeterminable Time, before the Creation of the World, and do perfectly overturn the Photinian and Socinian Heresies; for notwithstanding the Espousers of them have essayed to give other Interpretations of these Passages, they are generally so forced and strained, that by the same

Liberty of expounding, one may make any the plainest words to speak a quite different Sense. So that, though these Passages do not prove our Saviour to be God, they evince him to have had a Being long before the Creation of the World; and consequently that he is more than Man.

2. But secondly, There are other Passages of Holy Scripture, which do clearly prove him to be God. There cannot be a more certain Characteristick of Divinity than the Creative Power. For since Nothing is infinitely distant from Something, to produce Something out of Nothing does betoken an infinite Power which none has but God. Now since the Creation of the World is ascribed to our Saviour in Scripture, it necessarily follows, that he is God. And that the Creation of the World is ascribed to him, is evident to any one who reads the Books of the New Testament. S. John in the beginning of his Gospel, in inculcating this important Truth, because no one should mistake his Meaning, redoubles his Expression. *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made,* John i. 3. The same Truth is delivered by the Author to the Hebrews. *By whom also he made the Worlds,* Heb. i. 2. And probably the same Author means the same thing when he says, *Through faith we understand that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God,* Heb. xi. 3. And by S. Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, who speaking of our Saviour says, *Who is the Image of the invisible God, the first-born of every Creature. For by him were created all things that are in Heaven and that are in Earth, Visible and Invisible; whether they be Thrones or Dominions, or Principalities or Powers: all things were created by him and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist,* Col. i. 15, 16, 17. The Socinians, to maintain their Errors, would strain all these Passages to a Metaphorical Sense, as if they meant only a Spiritual Creation, or Regeneration. But as they rack and tenter the Texts contrary to all the Rules of Criticism and Interpretation, so they have the whole bent of Antiquity against them, even of the Antenicene Fathers, who took those Texts as we do, to be understood of the material Creation. *The ancient Fathers unanimously assert our Saviour created the World.* Justin Martyr concludes from the Supposition of the undoubted Truth of Christ creating this World, that he shall likewise create the New Heaven and the New Earth, *Dial. cum Tryph.* And in his Exhortation he speaks thus of the Logos, *ὁ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ γὰρ ὁ πᾶσα ἐγένετο κτίσις, ὃς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρετῆς αἱ θείαι ψαλμοὶ ἀνδρῶν προφηταὶ:* By whom the Heaven and the Earth and every Creature was made, as the holy Scriptures teach us. Just. Cohort. ad Gr. Irenaeus says, *Quemadmodum & Johannes Domini Discipulus ait de eo, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, & sine ipso factum est nihil: In omnibus autem est & hic qui est secundum nos mundus.* As S. John says of him, *All things were made by him and without him there was not any thing made that was made: he means by all things what we commonly call the World,* Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. ii. Clemens Alexandrinus asserts the same, *Ὁ ὁ ἀρχαῖος παλαιότατος, ἡ σοφία, ὁ λόγος τῶ Πατρὸς, ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶ ἀνθρώπου. ὁ καὶ ἐλάττω τῶ πλάσματος.* But the good Instructor, the Wisdom, the Word of the Father, who made Man, takes care of his whole Creation. Clem. Alex. Lib. i. Pædag. So Tertullian. *In principio erat sermo. In quo principio Deus fecit calum & terram. Et sermo erat apud Deum, & Deus erat sermo. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. In the beginning was the Word. In which beginning God made the Heaven and the Earth; and the word was with God, &c.* Tert. adv. Hermog. cap. xx. And S. Cyprian, who says, *Christum Primogenitum esse, & ipsum esse sapientiam Dei per quam omnia facta sunt. Christ is the first Born, and the Wisdom of God, by which all things were made.*

3. Our Saviour's being very God may be proved, from the incommunicable Attributes of the Deity being attributed to him in Scripture. (1.) As Immenstity or Omnipresence. For our Saviour declares, *Where two or three are gathered together in his Name there he is in the midst of them,* Mat. xviii. 20. *Lo I am with you always unto the end of the World,* Mat. xxviii. 20. *No Man hath ascended up into Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven,* John iii. 13. (2.) Omnipotence. *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the*

Passages of Scripture which prove our Saviour to be very God: particularly his creating the World.

The ancient Fathers unanimously assert our Saviour created the World.

The Divine Attributes ascribed to our Saviour in Scripture.

the ending saith the Lord, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty, Rev. i. 8. upholding all things by the word of his Power, Heb. i. 3. All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth, Mat. xxviii. 18. (3.) Omniscience, or the Knowledge of all things. Lora, thou knowest all things, John xxi. 17. Now we are sure that thou knowest all things, John xvi. 30. All the Churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the Reins and the Hearts, Rev. ii. 23. He knew their Thoughts, and said unto the Man with the withered Hand, &c. Luke vi. 8. Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all Men, John ii. 24. (4.) Immutability or Unchangeableness. They shall perish but thou remainest, &c. and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same and thy years shall not fail, Heb. i. 11, 12. Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to day and for ever, Heb. xiii. 8.

Our Saviour called frequently GOD in Scripture.

4. Another Proof of our Saviour's being the true God, is his being so frequently called God in Scripture. It cannot be supposed that the Holy Scriptures which were written to inform Christians and to guide them into the Truth, should be so penned as necessarily to mislead them in so important a Point as that of our Saviour's Divinity; and that they should so frequently call our Saviour God, when in reality he is not so. S. Paul speaks thus to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus. Take heed unto your selves, and to all the Flock, over which the holy Ghost hath made you Overseers to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood, Acts xx. 28. Now since 'tis here plainly asserted that the Church (or all faithful Christians) is purchased by the Blood of God; Christ who made this purchase, 1 Pet. i. 18. is God. S. Thomas addressed himself to our Saviour, in these words, My Lord and my God, John xx. 28. He is several times called so in the Epistles of S. Paul. Without controversy great is the mystery of Godliness; God was manifested in the Flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the World, received up into Glory, 1 Tim. iii. 16. And in the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul speaking of the Jews, says, out of whom, as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever, Rom. ix. 5. If these Passages had been so penned, that they might lead Christians into a mistake, in thinking Christ to be God when really he was but Man, or some other Superior created Being; S. John who wrote his Gospel after all the rest, would have set Matters right, and told the World that our Saviour was only a Creature, and that those Expressions which seemed to bespeak him God were only some high Metaphors, which must have a much lower Meaning put upon them. But instead of this, S. John is more express in this matter than any of the Apostles, who had written before him. In the very Entrance into his Gospel he tells his Reader, who the Person is that he is to write the History of, That he was the Logos or Word, who from all Eternity was with God, and that this Word was God. Words so express, that the Apostle must needs think they would necessarily misguide his Reader, if they had any other Meaning than what they naturally import.

III. The Deity of our Saviour was owned by the antient Fathers of the Church, who lived before the Nicene Council, wherein this Doctrine was fully established. One of the most antient of the Ecclesiastical Writers, and who lived in or very near the Apostolical times, is HERMAS, who in his Book entitled, *The Pastor*, has many Expressions relating to our Saviour which do

Godhead of the Son acknowledged by HERMAS.

either assert or imply his Divinity. *At Nomen Filii Dei magnum est & immensum, & totus ab eo sustentatur orbis: The Name of the Son of God is great and immense, and the whole World is sustained by him; and again, Omnis Dei Creatura per Filium ejus sustentatur: Every Creature of God is sustained by his Son.* Ignatius, who lived

IGNATIUS.

not long after him, does in several Places of his Epistles stile him God. Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἑκ τῶν ὕμνων σοφίζαντα. I glorify Jesus Christ, God, who has made you thus wise, Ign. Ep. ad Smyrn. And again in another Epistle, ἵνα ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς εὐαρίσθωμεν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμεῖς Θεὸς ἡμῶν: That we may be his Temple and be God in us. Ign. Ep. ad Eph. So in another Epistle, ἐπιθέτωμαι μοι μιμητὴν τοῦ πάθος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου: Suffer me to be an Imitator of the Passion of Christ my God, Ign. Ep. ad Rom.

CLEMENS.

Clemens Romanus in his Epistles does

not indeed directly assert our Saviour's Godhead, but he uses Expressions which are Tantamount thereunto. He calls him the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλοσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ; The Splendor of the magnificence of God, Clem. Ep. i. ad Cor. And σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλοσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ: The Scepter of God's magnificence, ibid. Justin

JUSTIN MAR.

Martyr blames them that deny, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τὸ Πατέρι ὅμοιον ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχων: That there is a Son to the Father of all things; which being the first-born Word of God is himself God. Just. Mart. Apol. ii. In his Conference with Trypho the Jew, he asserts, ὅτι Θεὸν, τὸ μόνον καὶ ἀγεννητὸν Θεὸν υἱὸν: That he is God because he is the Son of the only begotten God, Dial. cum Tryph. Athenagoras

ATHENAGOR.

does assert not only the Godhead of the Son, but likewise of the Holy Ghost, together with the whole Order of the Blessed Trinity. Τὸς καὶ ἀν ἀπορήσαι, λέγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν Θεὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, διενκύντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκύστας ἀθέως καλεμένους: Who does not wonder, when he hears, that we who preach up God the Father, and God the Son and the Holy Spirit, setting forth the Power of them in Unity, and the distinction in Order, are called Atheists: Athen. Legat.

pro Chr. Theophilus Antiochenus says, THEOPH. ANTIOCH.

that he is, Θεὸς ὢν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννητός. That the Word is God, because he is born of God. Lib. ii. ad Autol.

Irenæus speaking of our Saviour, IRENÆUS.

says, Neque Dominum neque Spiritum S. neque Apostolos, cum qui non esset Deus, definitive & absolute Deum nominasse aliquando, nisi esset verus Deus: Neither our Saviour nor the Holy Ghost nor the Apostles would have positively and absolutely have called any one God, unless he had been true God. Iren. Lib. iii. c. 6. Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus qui & locutus est Moysi, qui & Patribus manifestatus est. Christ with the Father is the God of the Living, who also spake to Moses and was manifested to the Fathers. Iren. Lib. iv. cap. 11. And again, Non enim infectus es, O homo, neque semper coexistebas Deo, sicut proprium ejus Verbum. Thou, O Man, were not unmade, nor did you Eternally exist with God, as his Word did. Iren. Lib. ii. cap. 43. The Godhead of our Saviour is owned by S. Cle-

CLEM. ALEX.

ment of Alexandria, who writes thus. Λόγος ὁ καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τὴν πλάσιν παροῦν ὡς διημιουργός, τὸ ἐν ζῆν ἐδιδάκων ἐπιφανὴς ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἵνα το ἀνθρώπων ὡς Θεὸς χορηγήσῃ. The Word which heretofore, as a Creator, gave Life in the Creation, afterwards as a Teacher manifested himself, that afterwards he might give Eternal Life as a God. Clem. Alex. Prolept. And again, Ὁ ὢν λόγος ὁ φανερώμενος ὅσως Θεός, ὁ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὅμοιος ἔκδοσις, ὅτι ἡν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ: The Divine Word who is most manifestly the true God, being equalled to the Lord of the Universe, because he was his Son, and the Word was in God, ibid.

TERTUL.

Tertullian says, Quod de deo profectum est, Deus est & Dei filius, & unus ambo: That which is born of God is God, and the Son of God, and both one, Tert. Apol. He elsewhere says that Christ is, suo jure Deus omnipotens, qui sermo Dei omnipotentis: In his own right the Almighty God, as he is the Word of the Almighty God, Tert. cont. Mar. Lib. iv. cap. 25.

Though Origen, in some Parts of his ORIGIN.

Works, makes use of some very improper and absurd Expressions, concerning the Generation of the Son, yet in his Books against Celsus which were written in his old Age, when his Thoughts grew Cooler, he very strenuously asserts our Saviour's Divinity; speaking of the Wise Men of the East bringing their Gifts to our Saviour, he says, προσέφεραν σύμβολα μὲν ὡς βασιλεὺς τὸν Χριστὸν, ὡς δὲ ταυτοῦ ὁμοίον τὸ σμύρναν, ὡς δὲ Θεὸν τὸ λίβαντον: They offered these Symbols or Gifts, Gold as to the King, Myrrh as to one who was to die, and Frankincense as to a God, Or.

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ἡνίκαι: That he was endowed with the greatest Qualifications, enjoying with God a participation of the Godhead, id. Lib. iii. S. Cyprian asserts, Quod Homo & Deus Christus ex utroque genere concretus, ut Mediator esse inter Nos & Patrem posset: That Christ is both God and Man, partaking of both Natures, that he might be a Mediator between Us and the Father, Cypr. Test. adv. Jud. Lib. ii. cap. 9. In his Epistle to Cecilius, he calls our Saviour, Dominum & Deum nostrum: Our Lord and our God. He elsewhere says, Deus cum homine miscetur, hic Deus noster, hic Christus est: God is joyned with Man: This is our God, our Christ. Cypr. de Idol. Van. Arnobius and Lactantius were not very well versed in the Doctrines of Christianity, when they wrote their Books, which upon that account abound with several Errors, especially with relation to the more mysterious Points; but however they both of them do assert in general the Godhead of the Son, though they run into some mistakes in the Explication of it.

ARNOBIUS.

Sed est more hominis interemptus: He was killed, as any ordinary Man. He answers, Non ipse neque enim cadere divinas in res potest mortis occasus. Not the Christ or Word it self; for Death does not befall divine things, &c. Arnob. adv. Gent. Lib. i. And elsewhere speaking of our Saviour he says, Cum vero Deus sit re certa, & sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli, & presidem nostri Corporis nuncupari? Now since Christ is really God, and without all doubt, do you think that we should deny that we worship him, and that we own him to be the Head of our Body? ibid. Lactantius in answer to an Objection made against the Christians for worshipping two Gods, Father and Son, he answers, Cum dicimus Deum Patrem & Deum Filium, non diversum dicimus nec utrumque secerimus: qui nec Pater sine Filio esse potest, nec Filius a Patre secer- ni. When we say God the Father, and God the Son, we do not assert two Gods, nor divide them both: For the Father cannot be without the Son, neither can the Son be divided from the Father, Lact. Lib. iv. c. 29.

LACTANT.

This is sufficient to shew, that the Council of Nice which established the Doctrine of Christ's Divinity by the highest Ecclesiastical Authority, did not make a new Faith as the Unitarians falsely pretend, but only declared the antient one which was generally received in the Church, throughout the several Ages which preceded that Council, and that when they declared in their Creed, that Christ was θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, and γεννητὸν καὶ ὁμογενετὸν: Very God of very God, and begotten not made, said but the same thing which the Writers before cited, who all lived before this Council, had done.

To these Testimonies of the Antient Fathers, we may add the further Testimony of the Heathens themselves, who, all along the first Ages of Christianity, upbraided the Christians for their esteeming Christ as their God. Pliny tells the Emperor Titus, that the Christians of those times did Christo quasi Deo carmen dicere, sing Psalms to Christ as to a God. All the foolish Calumnies of the Heathens concerning the Christians worshipping an Ass, and Onychites, &c. were founded upon the Christians worshipping of Christ as a Person of the Godhead. We meet with this Objection answered in all the Apologists who wrote for Christianity, and urged by all the Adversaries who wrote against it. This is Trypho's Objection in Justin Martyr. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν σὲ περιπατεῖν θεὸν ὄντα περὶ αἰώνων ὄντα, ὃ χεῖρον ἔστι καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀνθρώπου γενομένου ὑπομῖναι καὶ ὅτι ἐκ ἀνθρώπου ἔκ ἀνθρώπου ὁ μόνον παρὰ δόξαν δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρὸν. It looks to me not only as a Paradoxical but as a foolish Notion, to think that this Christ should be from all Eternity and yet be born a Man: and being made Man to continue as Man, not coming of a Man. Celsus objected the same thing in his Book written against the Christians, which Origen answered. He ridicules the Wifemen, περικύνοντας χεῖρον ἔστι νήπιον ὡς θεόν: For worshipping Christ in his Infancy as a God. Or. cont. Cels. Lib. i. And so he does the History of Christ's flight into Egypt, θεὸν ὡς ἐκδὸς ἢν περὶ θανάτου δεδουκέναι: 'Tis undecent that a God should be afraid of Death. id. Lib. ii. c. 29. And likewise the History of his Passion, καὶ ὃ θεὸν ὄντα ὅτε φεύγειν ἐννέπει δεινὰ ἀπαχέει, It was no ways agreeable that a God should fly, or be lead away Prisoner, ibid.

So the Heathens in Arnobius argue against the Christians. Non idcirco Dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum, sed quod Hominem natum, & quod personis infame est vilibus, crucis supplicio interemptum, & Deum fuisse contenditis, & superesse adhuc creditis, & quotidianis Supplicationibus adoratis. The Gods are not angry with you, because you worship the Almighty God, but because you worship a Man that was born, and (what is a scandal to the vilest Person) one crucified, whom you would have to be a God and to be still in being, and whom you worship with your daily Supplications. Now can we think, that the Heathens would have so constantly objected this, and the Apologists have no where denied the Imputation, if the first Christians had not looked upon Christ as God?

[Eternal God.] Some of the antient Hereticks who really denied the Godhead of Christ, would allow him to be stiled God in a large Sense; but when they explained themselves, they asserted ἐκ αἰῶν ἢν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔκ ὀντων γέγονεν: He was not always the Word, but was made out of nothing. vid. Alex. Epist. apud Socr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. Upon this account the Nicene Fathers do Anathematize, τὸς λέγοντας, ἢν πότε ὅτε ἐκ ἢν, Those that say there was a time when the Son was not, Socr. ibid. Athan. Ep. ad Jovin. The modern Unitarians have covered themselves under the same Ambiguity. Socinus says, Falsissimum est nos palam affirmare, Christum non esse verum Deum. Soc. Resp. ad 4 Priora cap. Wick. And so Schellingius, Christus est verus Deus, sed quatenus verus opponitur falso, non quatenus opponitur non summo, in John iv. 23. And Crellius. Benedicendus in secula, ostendit quantus Deus sit Christus, Crell. in John x. 33. To avoid therefore all Ambiguity, and all Subterfuge of Heretical Pravity, the Word Eternal is here added. Which is no more than what the Holy Scriptures do warrant, which ascribe Eternity to the second Person of the Trinity. For that was most probably S. John's Meaning, when he said, In the beginning was the Word, i. e. from all Eternity, John i. especially since he begins his Epistles with the like Expression, That which was from the beginning, 1 John i. 1. The same is signified by S. Paul, who says, that Christ was before all things, Col. i. 17. But this is a Truth, which the Arians of old, as well as the Socinians of late have denied; but on the other side all the Orthodox Antiquity, not only the Fathers of the middle Ages, but those who lived before the Council of Nice, do affirm.

IGNATIUS asserts, ὅτι ἔς θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τὸ ὅτι αὐτὸς ὅς ἐστιν αὐτὸς λόγος αἰδίου: There is one God who has manifested himself by his Son Jesus Christ, who is his Eternal Word, Ign. Ep. ad Mag.

JUSTIN Martyr speaking of God the Son says, 'Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ πρὸ πάντων καὶ ἐν παντί νῦν ἐν ἀγίῳ καρδίαις γενόμενος ὁ αἰὲς, σήμερον ὡς λογισθεῖς. This is he who was from the beginning, who late appeared, and always born anew in the Hearts of the Saints. Inst. Ep. ad Diogn. Irenaeus asserts the same in these words. Exclusa est omnis contradictio dicentium, si ergo tunc natus est, non erat Christus. Ostendimus enim, quia non tunc capit Filius Dei existens semper apud Patrem. All Contradiction is excluded of them that say, if he was then born he was not Christ. For we have shewn, that he did not then begin to be, but always was with the Father. Iren. Lib. iii. c. 20. And elsewhere, semper autem coexistens Filius Patri, olim & ab initio semper revelat Patrem, id. Lib. ii. cap. 55.

CLEMENT of Alexandria speaks of him thus. Αἰδίου ἔστι, Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶς, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς θεὸς τε ἐνδὲς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρός. This is the one Eternal Jesus, the great high Priest of the one God, his Father, Clem. Protrept. The same Father in his Hymn calls him,

λόγος ἀέννατος, Word Everlasting,

αἰὼν ἀπλετός, Infinite Aeon,

φῶς αἰδίου. Light Eternal.

Clem. Alex. Protag. in fine.

ORIGEN calls him ἀπαύλασμα φῶτος αἰδίου: The Splendor of the Eternal Light, Lib. v. cont. Cels. Athanasius quotes from him this remarkable Sentence. Τομήσας τις ἀρχὴν δὴν εἶναι ὡς πρῶτον ἐκ ὄντος; πότε ἢ ἢ ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀκατανομάστου καὶ ἀρρήτου ὑποστάσεως τὸ πατρὸς εἰκὼν, ὁ χαρακτὴρ λόγος, ὁ γινώσκων ὃ πατὴρ, καὶ ἢν; κατανοεῖται ὅτι ὁ τολμῶν καὶ λέγων ἢν πότε ὅτε ἐκ ἢν ὁ ὡς ὅτι ἐρεῖ καὶ σοφία πότε ἐκ ἢν, καὶ ὡς ἐκ ἢν. Who dares to ascribe a beginning to the Son, as if there were a time in which he yet was not? For when was not that ineffable, unnameable and undeclarable

the Blessed Virgin, of one Substance with the Father, *tri constantialis*, in

Hypostasis, the Image, the Character, the Reason which knows the Father? Let him think with himself who dares say, that there was a time when the Son was not, that he says, that there was a time when Wisdom was not, when Reason was not, when Life was not. Athan. in Lib. de decret. Syn. Nic. Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus Antiochenus, Tertullian and Lactantius, have several Expressions to the like purpose; though it must be owned there be some Passages which occur in them that seem to make against the Eternity of the Word; whom they declare to have been begotten by the Father some time before the Creation of the World, God making use of him as his Agent or Instrument in the creating all things. But it must be considered, that most of the Antients had a Notion, That the Son lay from all Eternity quiescent in the Bosom of the Father, That in time he made his *περὶ αὐτοῦ* or going forth, as Athenagoras speaks, That then by the Divine Eructation he of the *λογος ἐνδιάθετος* the inward Word, he became the *λογος προερχόμενος* the spoken Word, which was looked upon as another begetting or Production of the second Person of the Trinity; and to this refer those Passages in the forementioned Writers, which seem to make against the Eternal Generation of the Word. This is, with great force of Reason and Learning, unexceptionably made out by the late excellent Bishop Bull, in his *Defensio fidei Nicenae*. Sect. iii. Cap. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Consubstantiality of the Son proved from Scripture. *g One Substance.* This Expression answers to the Greek *ὁμοούσιος*, which was used by the Antients, to denote the Unity of Essence which was between

the Father and the Son. The Foundation of this Expression was grounded upon these Texts of Scripture. *There are three that bear Witness, &c. and these three are One*, 1 John v. 7. And that of the Evangelist, *I and my Father are One*, John x. 30. which does import a Unity of Essence and not of Consent, as may be proved by our Saviour's own Explication of his Meaning in other Words, *The Father is in me and I in him*, v. 38. and by the Sense the Jews understood him in, as being a Pretension to the Divine Nature: *For a good Work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that thou being a Man makest thyself God*, v. 33.

The Homousion came to be denied by some of the Hereticks which had crept into the Primitive Church, the Orthodox made use of the Word *ὁμοούσιος* to be a Test upon them, making them declare that our Saviour was not a Creature, or a Titled God only, but God of the same Nature and Essence with the Father. This Athenagoras says was *ἐπιτομήματα κατὰ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐμφανίζοντες αὐτῶν*: A Bulwark against the impious Opinions of the Arians. Athan. de Syn. Arim. and Seleuc. That it was the Hypocrisy of the Eusebians that made the Orthodox, λευκότερον ἢ πην, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ὁμοούσιον ἦν τὸ Πατεὶ καὶ υἱόν, express their mind more clearly, and say that the Son was of the same Substance with the Father, Athan. de Conc. Nic. Decret. The Hereticks on the other side clamoured against this Expression, as ἀλλοτρίον ὄν καὶ θεῶν γεγενῆσθαι being unscriptural, Epiph. Hær. lxxiii. to which the Orthodox replied, *Εἰ καὶ μὴ ὅπως ἐν ταῖς γεγραμμέναις εἰσιν αἱ λέξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι γεγραμμένων διὰ τὴν ἀποκρίσιν*: Though this and such like Expressions are not in Scripture, yet the purport of them is found there, Athan. de Decret. Fid. Nicen.

Besides, not only the Unitarians, of late, but the Arians of old, did object against the Orthodox the Novelty of this Expression, saying that it was not more antient than the Controversy between Alexander Bishop of Alexandria and Arius, and was soon after followed by the Nicene Council, who did συνδοτικοῖς λόγοις ἀνομολογήσαι παρὰσκευάσαι ὁμοούσιον τὸν Πατεὶ καὶ υἱόν καὶ τὸ Ἄρσιον ἀποκηρύξασθαι: By their Synodical Voices meet together, to declare the *ὁμοούσιον* or Sameness of the Son with the Father, and to condemn Arius. Philost. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. Sect. vii. But this was a false Suggestion. For the very Word was used by several Divines much more antient. Eusebius, who is not generally thought to be a partial Witness in this Case, owns, ὅτι παλαιῶν τινὰς λόγους καὶ ἐπιγραφὰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ Πατρί καὶ τῷ υἱῷ θεολογίας τὸν θεὸν ὁμοούσιον χρονομένους ὀνόματι. We have known some of the Antients, both famous Bishops and Writers, who disputing con-

cerning the Divinity of Christ, have used the Word *ὁμοούσιον*. Euseb. Ep. ad Cæsariens. apud Soc. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 3. Origen, who lived cxxx Years before the Nicene Council, in his Dialogue against the Marcionites says, That *ὁὐδὲν λόγον ἦν ὁμοούσιον*: God the Son, or the Word is of the same Substance with the Father. And Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, who lived near 100 Years before this Council writes, as Athenagoras quotes him, τὸν χειρὸν ὁμοούσιον ἦν τὸ θεῷ: That Christ is of the same Substance with God. Ath. de Decr. Conc. Nicen. And in his Epistle to Paulus Samosetanus which is still extant, he says it was a common Expression used by the Divines long before his time. τὸν φύσει κύριον, καὶ λόγον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν πατέρα ἐρημίζοντα καὶ τὸν ἀγίων πατέρων. He that is by Nature the Lord and the Word of the Father, and whom the Holy Fathers call *ὁμοούσιον*, of the same Substance with the Father. Dion. Ep. in Bib. Patr. magn. Tom. xi.

But if we have regard to the Purport and Sense of the Word, almost all the Ecclesiastical Writers of the Church from the beginning of Christianity, have declared in favour of this Doctrine.

We have before given several Instances out of Hermas, Clement, Ignatius, &c. of Christ's being the true God, which does virtually infer the Sameness of Essence. For as Athenagoras very well observes, Ἡ τῷ ὁμοούσιον δυνάμει γινώσκεται, ἐκ τῆς μὴ ἦν κτίσμα ἢ ποιήμα καὶ υἱόν: The purport of the Word *ὁμοούσιον* is known by this, that the Son is not a Creature or any thing made, Athan. Epist. ad Afr. Ep. Op. Tom. i.

JUSTIN Martyr infers the same, when he says of Christ he is *θεῷ μόνῳ λεγόμενον κύριος υἱός*: He alone is truly God's Son, alluding to the Sameness of kind, which a Son has with his Father. Just. Apol. i. and presently after *μόνον ἰδίως, υἱὸς τῷ θεῷ*: He is only in a proper Sense the Son of God. ibid. In his Dialogue with the Jew, he expresses his Consubstantial Generation, in the same manner with the Nicene Council, *Light of Light*. Ὡς καὶ πυρὶς ἀναπτόμενα πυρὶς ἐτερεῖ δυνάμει, ἡδὲν ἐλαττωμένη ἐκείνου καὶ ἀναρτῶναι πάλιν δυνάμει, ἀλλὰ τ' αὐτῷ μένοντι: As we see one Fire kindled by another without Diminution, the first remaining the same, though more Fires are kindled by it. Just. Dial. cum Tryph.

ATHENAGORAS speaks of him thus: *ἐνδὲς ὄντος τῷ Πατρί καὶ τῷ υἱῷ, ὁὐτος ὁ τῷ υἱῷ ἐν Πατρί, καὶ Πατὴρ ἐν υἱῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος*: The Son and the Father are one, the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son by Unity and Power of the Spirit. Athan. Leg. pro Christ. And elsewhere in the same Treatise he expresses himself thus. *Θεὸν φημεν, καὶ υἱὸν καὶ λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐνέμενα μὲν καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ Πατρί, καὶ υἱῷ, καὶ πνεύματι. ὅτι νῦν, λόγος, σοφία καὶ τὸ Πατεὶ καὶ υἱῷ ἀπὸρρητὰ ὡς φῶς καὶ πυρὶς τὸ πνεῦμα*. We confess God and his Son, the Word and the Holy Ghost, United in Power. For the Son is the Mind, Word and Wisdom of the Father; and the Holy Ghost is an Effluence as Light from the Fire, ibid. Which is a clear Profession of a Consubstantial Trinity.

IRENÆUS professes the same when he says, *Ipsę igitur Christus, cum Patre, vivorum est Deus, qui et locutus est Moysi, qui et Patribus manifestatus est*: Christ, together with the Father, is the God of the living, who spake to Moses, and revealed himself to the Fathers, Iren. Lib. iv. cap. 11. So again, *Et bene qui dixit ipsum immensum Patrem, in Filio mensuratum. Mensura enim Patris Filius, quoniam et capit eum*. He speaks well, who says the Infinite Father is measured by the Son. For the Son is the Measure of the Father because he contains him, Iren. Lib. iv. cap. 8.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS asserts the same. *Οὐδὲν ἄρα μισῶται καὶ τὸ θεῷ ἀλλ' ἡδὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὁ θεός. God hates nothing, neither his Word; for they are both one, namely God, Pædag. Lib. i. cap. 8. So in another Place. Ἰλαθὲ τοῖς σοῖς, παῖδάγων, γέ, παῖδ' ἰσχυρῶν, ἡνίοχος Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ καὶ πᾶτες, ἐν αὐτῷ, κύριος: O thou Governor, Father, and Charioteer of Israel, be Propitious to thy Children; O Son and Father both one, O Lord! id. in fine Pædag.*

TERTULLIAN abounds with Instances, which assert the Son to be of the same Substance with the Father. *Nam etsi soles duos faciam, tamen et solem et radium ejus tam duas res et duas species unius indivisę substantię nunc merabo*

of her Substance: So ther, ^h took Man's Substance *utero beatæ Virginis,*

merabo quam Deum & sermonem ejus, quam Patrem & Filium. For though I should say there are two Suns, meaning the Sun and his Rays, I might reckon these to be two Species of the same undivided Substance, as well as God and the Word the Father and the Son. Tert. adv. Prax. cap. 13. And so in another Treatise, he says, *Christum & Spiritum substantiam esse Creatoris, & eos qui Patrem non agnoverint nec Filium cognoscere potuisse per ejusdem Substantia conditionem: That Christ and the Spirit is the Substance of the Creator, and they who do not acknowledge the Father, cannot know the Father by the Condition of the same Substance.* Lib. iii. contr. Marc. cap. 6. And so again, *Filium non aliunde deduco, quam de substantia Patris: I do not derive the Son from any other cause, but from the Substance of the Father,* id. adv. Prax. cap. 4.

St. CYPRIAN asserts the same, when he says, *De Patre, Filio & Spiritu sancto scriptum est, Hi tres unum sunt, de Un. Eccl. cap. 4.* And in his Epistle to Jubaianus he says, *ipse Christus gentes baptizari jubet in plena & adunata Trinitate.*

LACTANTIUS, in some particulars, does not seem to have the justest Notions of the holy Trinity, but yet concerning the Consubstantiality he thus expresses himself. *Cum dicimus Deum Patrem & Deum Filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus; quia nec Pater sine Filio esse potest, nec Filius a Patre secerni, siquidem nec Pater sine Filio nuncupari, nec Filius potest sine Patre generari. Cum igitur & Pater Filium faciat & Filius Patrem; una utrique Mens, unus Spiritus, una Substantia est.* When we say God the Father, and God the Son, we do not say two but one; because the Father cannot be without the Son, nor can the Son be divided from the Father; because a Father cannot be denominated without a Son, nor a Son be generated without a Father. Whereas therefore a Father makes a Son and a Son a Father; they must both have one Mind, one Spirit and one Substance. Lact. Lib. iv. cap. 29.

The Humanity of ^h Took Man's Substance.] I. There Christ proved cannot be clearer Proof of any matter of Fact, than that our Saviour took upon him human Nature, and was truly Man. The Prophecies which foretel the Messias, do declare likewise that he was to be Man. It was predicted as early as the Fall of Mankind, *That the Seed of Woman should break the Serpent's Head,* Gen. iii. 15. And in another Prediction of the Messias, it is foretold, *that a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son,* Is. vii. 14. The Angel who notified his Conception to the blessed Virgin said, *She should conceive in her Womb, and bring forth a Son,* Luke i. 31. He was subject to all the Properties and Accidents which human Nature is liable to. He grew, Luke ii. 40. and increased in Wisdom and Stature, Luke ii. 52. was hungry, Mat. iv. 2. and thirsty, John xix. 28. he wept over Jerusalem, Luke xix. 41. he slept, Mark iv. 38. and died, Mat. xxvii. 50. Mark xv. 37. Luke xxiii. 46. John xix. 30.

II. But notwithstanding these so many and plain Assertions of the Holy Scripture, great numbers of Hereticks heretofore have denied Christ's Humanity; probably out of a foolish Conceit that it reflected a Dishonour on the Deity to be united with human Body, and that the matter of the Redemption might be transacted by a seeming shew of an human Body here upon Earth, without the reality of it. Some maintained this odd Opinion as early as the Apostolical times, viz. the Gnosticks, who asserted *μη εἶναι χεῖρον τῷ Μαρίαν γεννημένον, ἀλλ' εἶναι Μαρίαν διδωμένην σαρκα ὃν αὐτὸν μὴ ἐκλήθηται ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον δοκῶντος ὅτι: That Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary, but only shewn by her: That he did not take upon him flesh, but only the Appearance thereof.* Epiph. Hæc. xli. And 'tis probably these that Ignatius means, when he says, *Τίτεις, ἀθεοὶ ὄντες τυτίσιν ἀπίστοι, λέγουσι τὸ δοκῶν γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἐκ ἀληθῆς ἀνελθόντα σῶμα· καὶ τὸ δοκῶν τε θνητὸν εἶναι, πεποθέναι, καὶ τὸ ὄντι.* There are some Atheistical Persons, that is Unbelievers, that say Christ was born Man only in Appearance, that he seemed only to die and to suffer, and not in Reality. Ign. Ep. ad Trall. After them Saturninus (or as others call him) Saturnilus, maintained the same fantastick Opinion, declaring as Tertullian says, *that Christ did in phantasmate tantum venisse: Come only by way of phantasm,* Tert. de præscr. cap. 46. or, as Irenæus relates, *putative tantum hominem, That he was only taken to be Man,* Iren. Lib. i. c. 22. The same foolish Opinion was main-

tained by Cerdo, Marcion and Manes, who as Theodoret says, *ὡς ἀνθρώπου φανῆναι ὃ χεῖρον ἔοικεν, ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου ἔνδυτα: said that Christ appeared as Man, having nothing of human Nature,* Hæret. Fab. Lib. v. cap. 11. The same before their time was asserted by Basilides, who moreover taught, that Christ himself did not suffer, but Simon of Cyrene was crucified in his stead. Irenæus de Baf. Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. xiv. The like was maintained by Valentinus and his Scholars, Epiph. Hæc. xxxi. Tert. de Præsc. cap. 49. There were an odd sort of Hereticks called Ophites, who worshipped the Serpent that deceived Eve, who likewise asserted as Tertullian speaks, *Christum non in substantia carnis fuisse, that Christ was not in the Substance of the Flesh,* Tert. de Præscr. cap. 50. or as Theodoret relates their Opinion, *Τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἄλλον λέγουσι παρὰ χεῖρον. καὶ ὃ μὲν Ἰησοῦς, ἐκ τῆς παρθένου γεννηθῆναι, ὃ δὲ χεῖρον: ἀπεσθῆναι ἐκ αὐτοῦ κατελθόν: That Jesus is different from Christ; that Jesus was born of the Virgin, and Christ came from Heaven,* Theod. Lib. i. cont. Hæc. cap. 14. Origen in his Book against Celsus, relates of these mad Hereticks, that when any were admitted into this Sect, they cursed Jesus, i. e. as I understand it, renounced Christ's Humanity. There was another spawn of Hereticks, who denied that Christ had a truly human Body, but I know not what Body made of the Substance of the Stars or Æther; they owed their rise to one Appelles, the Scholar of the Heretick Marcion, and were from him called Appellitæ. Theodoret thus relates his Opinion. *Τὸ χεῖρον περιέθηκε σῶμα, καὶ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ κόσμου οὐσίας: He clothed Christ with a Body not human, but made out of the Substance of the World.* Theod. Hæc. Fab. Lib. i. cap. 25.

III. But the Orthodox Christians constantly maintained the true human Nature of Christ. For thus Ignatius.

Εκκορήθη ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς χρόνον περιόδου καὶ ἀλλοθῶς ἐτέχθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀλλοθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφῆθη, καὶ τετραῖς κοίτης καὶ πέντε μετέχεν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς. He was carried in the Womb, during certain Periods of time, as we were: he was truly born, as we were: he sucked, and partook of the same common meat and drink with us. Ign. Ep. ad Trall. To the like purport S. Chrysostom speaks, when he says, *that our Saviour did εἰς μήτραν εἰσὼν παρθενικήν, καὶ ἐνταμινοῦν κορορηθῆναι χεῖρον, καὶ γαλακτοτροφῆναι, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πάντα παθεῖν: come into the Virgin's Womb, was carried there nine Months, was suckled, and underwent all things agreeable to human Nature.* Chrys. Hom. xxxiv. Tom. v. Ed. Sav. But not to trouble the Reader with more Passage out of the Antients upon this Head, which every where occur in their Books written against the Hereticks and in their other Writings; I shall only set down their Reasons which they give, why it was necessary, that Christ should take upon him an human Body.

IV. And first it was requisite that Christ should take upon him an human Body, to be qualified thereby to suffer and die, and to perform the other Parts

of our Redemption; thereby to destroy the Empire of the Devil, and to work out our everlasting Salvation. This is declared by the great Council of Nice in their Creed. *Δι' ἡμᾶς τὰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατέβη ἐκ οὐρα, καὶ σαρκωθὲν, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα: Who for us Men and for our Salvation, came down from Heaven, was incarnate and made Man. And so Athanasius, Ἡ ἡμῶν αἰτίς ἐκ οὐ γέγονε πύρρασις ἀκαθάρτα καὶ ἡ ἡμῶν παρὰ βλάβος τὸ λόγον τὸ φιλανθρωπῆαν ἔκαλεσται, ὥστε καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσαι, καὶ φανῆναι ὃ κρείον ἐν ἀνθρώποις: ὃ δὲ ἐκ οὐ ἐνσωματώσας ἡμᾶς γεγόναμεν ὑπόθεσις, It was our cause that gave him the occasion of descending from Heaven; it was our Transgression that made the divine Word take upon him the humanity; that the Lord came to us and appeared among Men. We were the cause of his Incarnation.* Athan. de Incar. And thus Prudentius.

*Mortale corpus induit,
De concitato corpore,
Mortis catenam frangeret,
Hominemque portaret Patri.*

*A Mortal Body he put on,
That by the means of this he might
The chain of Death asunder snap,
And to his Father carry Man.*

Prudent. Cathem. Hymn. xi.
2. He

2. To make us the Sons of God, &c.

2. He became Man to make us the Sons of God, to bring us again into his favour, and to make us Partakers of his Grace. Which Reason is thus expressed by *Athanasius*, 'Τὸς ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν, ἵνα οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τῷ Θεῷ Ἀδὰμ, υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένωνται. *Christ was made the Son of Man, that the Sons of Man, that is of Adam, might be made the Sons of God.* *Athan. de Human. Nat. Suscept.* And thus by *S. Chrysostom*, υἱὸς ὡν τὸ ἀνθρώπου θεῷ, καὶ γνήσιον υἱὸς, ἡνέχετο ἀνάστα καὶ Δαβὶδ υἱὸς, ἵνα σε ποιήσῃ καὶ θεὸν υἱόν. *The true and genuine Son of the immortal God, vouchsafed to be called the Son of David, that he might make thee the Son of God.* *Chrys. Hom. i. in Mat.* *S. Basil* declares the like, with particular relation to the Grace obtained by Christians, through *Christ's Incarnation*. Διὰ τοῦτο θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπεμψεν υἱόν καὶ καταρθεύσαν σάρκα ταύτην ἀγιασθῆναι, καὶ ἀδελφώσασαν ἐν δυνάμει θῆναι, καὶ ἀλλοτριωθῆναι θεῷ, ταύτην δικαιοῦναι αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐκπεύσαν τὴν παραδίσει ταύτην ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἀναχθῆναι. *For this reason God appeared in the Flesh, because it was necessary that this Flesh that was under the curse should be sanctified, that being infirm it might be strengthened, that being alienated from God it might be reconciled to him, that being thrown out of Paradise it might be received into Heaven.* *Basil. Hom. xxv. de Natali.* This *Prudentius* expresses in the following Verses.

*Ergo animalis homo quondam: nunc Spiritus illum
Transfudit ad superi naturam Seminis, ipsum
Infundendo Deum mortalia vivificantem.
Nunc nova materies, solidata intercute statu;
Materies, sed nostra tamen, de Virgine tracta,
Exiit antiquae corrupta exordia Vitae,
Immortale bonum proprio spiramine sumens.*

*Man once an Animal Nature had, but now
The Spirit has giv'n him, from a Heav'nly Seed,
A Nature all Divine; to him transfusing
A God that quickens his Mortality.
The Virgin-birth has giv'n him a new Substance,
Has alter'd quite his former Composition,
And breath'd into him an immortal Life.*

Prud. in Apotheosi.

3. To discharge the Mediatorship by partaking of both Natures.

3. He took our Nature upon him, that he might thereby be better qualified to be our Mediator with God, by partaking of the Natures of both Parties, which he was to reconcile. This is most elegantly in short expressed by *Gregory Thaumaturgus*: οὐδ' ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τὸ θεῶν γεφυρώσας πρὸς ἀγίῳ οὐ σώματι: *Thou, O Christ, by taking upon thee a human Body, hast joyned as it were by a Bridge Heaven and Earth together.* *Greg. Thaum. Orat. in Epiph.* The same is thus illustrated by *S. Cyril of Alexandria*. Μιστήριον ἀπὸ καὶ τῆς φύσεως, τὰς πολὺ διακρίσιμα καὶ ἄφορον, καὶ ἀμέτρητον ἔχοντα τὸ μεσολαβεῖν, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι, συνερχόμενα τε, καὶ ἡνωμένα δεικνύων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ συνέρων ἡμᾶς δι' ἑαυτὸ πρὸς Θεόν, καὶ πατρί. *Christ is properly said to be a Mediator for this Reason, because he joyns those things which were at the greatest distance, the Divinity and the Humanity, and as he has shewn these united in himself, so he has thereby united us to God.* *Cyr. Dial. i. de Trin.* To the like purport *Novatianus*. Si ad hominem veniebat, ut mediator Dei & hominum esse deberet oportuit illum cum eo esse, & Verbum carnem fieri, ut in semetipso concordiam confabularet terrenorum pariter, atque caelestium, dum utriusque partis in se connectens pignora, & Deum homini, & hominem Deo copularet. Since he came among Men, to be a Mediator between God and Man, he must be with God, and the Word likewise must be made Flesh; that he might establish an Agreement between Heavenly and Earthly things, and that taking as it were a Pledge of both Parties, he might joyn God to Man, and Man to God. *Novat. de Trin. cap. xiii.*

4. To teach Men Religion.

4. He took upon him human Nature, that thereby, conversing among Men, he might teach them the Doctrines and Precepts of the most excellent Religion. Which is thus expressed by *Lactantius*. Illum Filium suum primogenitum, illum opificem rerum, & Consiliatorem suum delabi jussit e Caelo, ut religionem sanctam Dei transferret ad gentes, i. e. ad eos qui Deum ignorabant. God sent his only begotten Son, the Creator of the World and his Counsellor from Heaven, to transfer his Holy Religion to the Gentiles who were ignorant of it. *Lact. Lib. iv. cap. 11.* The same end of *Christ's Incarnation* is mentioned by *Clement of Alexandria*. Διὸ μοι δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπερθεῖν ὁ λόγος, ἡμᾶς ὅ

ἐπ' ἀνθρωπίνην εἶναι καὶ χρῆναι διδασκαλίαν ἔτι. Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, περὶ ὧν καὶ Ἰωνίαν πολυπεφυγμένους εἰς ἡμῖν ὁ διδάσκαλος, ὁ πληρώσας τὰ πάντα δυνάμειν ἀγίας, δημιουργίας, σωτηρίας, ἐνεργείας, νομοθεσίας, περὶ πάντων, διδασκαλίας, ταῦτα νῦν ὁ διδάσκαλος κατήχετο, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἡδὴ Ἀθήνας, καὶ Ἑλλάδα γέγονεν πρὸς λόγον. *Forasmuch as the Word has descended to us from Heaven, in my Opinion, we have now no longer necessity of human Discipline, nor to trouble our selves to go to Athens or any other part of Greece, or Ionia. For since he is our Master, he finishes all things with holy Virtues, working in us, with Salvation, Beneficence, Legislature, Prophecy, Discipline: he being our Master instructs us in all things; by reason of the Word, the whole World is now become Athens and Greece.* *Clem. Alex. in Protrept.*

5. Another end of *Christ's Incarnation* was to be an Example to us of Virtue. Which is excellently illustrated

by *S. Chrysostom*. Παράδειγμα ὁ χεῖρας, &c. *Christ coming into the World was willing to teach Men all manner of Virtue. Now he that instructeth, not only teaches by Word, but also by Work. And this is the best way of teaching in any Master. For the Pilot of a Ship making his Scholar to sit by him, shews him how to manage the Rudder, speaking to him and working with him; neither always talking, nor always working. So an Architect when he teaches one to build an House, he shews him how to do it, not only by speaking but by working before him. So does the Weaver, the Goldsmith and the Braiser, and every other Artificer, teach by Work as well as Word. Therefore whereas Christ came to teach us all Truth, καὶ λέγει τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ ποιεῖ, both tells things that are to be done, and himself does them. But above all other Virtues he did by his Example recommend the Virtue of Humility. He speaks to all his Disciples and Followers, when he says, Learn of me for I am meek and lowly in Heart, Mat. xi. 29.*

And indeed this Lesson was not to be learned of any one else; for the Philosophers who valued themselves greatly for teaching other moral Virtues, overlooked this, nay contemned it as a meaness and poorness of Spirit. Wherefore *S. Austin* says very well, Omnibus desunt divina Humilitatis exemplum, quod opportunissimo tempore, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum illustratum est. There was no where to be found an example of Humility, and therefore our Saviour Jesus very opportunely illustrated it by his Example, Aug. Ep. lvi.

6. Another Reason of our Saviour's taking upon him human Nature was, to put a stop to Idolatry to which the World was so much enclined. Upon which Observation *Athanasius* makes this Reflexion. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, &c. *Forasmuch as Men are averse from the Contemplation of God, and being as it were plunged in the deep, having their Eyes fixed upon the Earth, they looked for God only in Nature and sensible things, making to themselves Gods out of mortal Men and Demons. For this reason the loving and common Saviour of us all, took to himself a Body, and as Man conversed among Men, taking to himself all human Affections, that Men understanding there was a God embodied, by those corporeal Actions which they beheld our Saviour to do, they might thereby come to understand the Truth, and be raised to the Knowledge of the Father.* *Ath. de Incarn.* *S. Austin* expresses himself in a like manner. Maximè vero suæ Incarnationis, &c. The Incarnation of our Lord had this salutary effect, that whereas the generality of Men are Ambitious of paying their worship to God some way or other, they worshipping more presumptuously than piously the heavenly Powers, by Idolatrous Rites, which were rather Sacrileges than Sacred Ceremonies; on which account not Angels but Demons were worshiped by them; now Men might know, that God is so near to the Piety of Men, that he has taken upon him the Nature of Man, so that they need not seek to him, as if he were afar off, by intermediate Powers, &c. Aug. Ep. iii.

7. Another end assigned of our Saviour's taking human Nature upon him is, That the Remedy of Sin might come the same way that the Malady of it came. Therefore *S. Austin* says, Melius judicavit, ut de ipso quod victum fuerat, genere assumeret hominem Deus, per quem generis humani vinceret inimicum. God judged it more proper to take upon him the Nature of Man who was conquered, to gain a Victory over that Enemy of human kind. Aug. xiii. Trin. cap. 18. So *Tertullian*, Neque ad propositum Christi faceret, evacuantis peccatum carnis, non in ea carne evacuare illud, in qua erat natura peccati. It would not have been conducive

that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say the Godhead and Manhood were joyned together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man,

in the ⁱ Womb of the Blessed Virgin of her Substance; so that ^k two whole and perfect Natures, that is the ^l Godhead and the Manhood were joyned together in one Person never to be divided: whereof is ^m one Christ, very God and very Man.

exillius Substantia naturam humanam assumpsit: ita ut due nature, divina & humana, integrè atque perfectè in unitate Personæ fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ, in quibus est unus Christus, verus

conducible to Christ's design of cancelling a Sin of the Flesh, not to have cancelled it in that Flesh by which the Sin was committed. Tert. de car. Christ. c. 16. S. Austin carries the Analogy between the Malady and Remedy further. Quia per mulierem in hunc mundum mors introvit, salus per Virginem redderetur, &c. Ut ne perpetui reatus apud Viros opprobrium sustineret: quia quæ culpam nobis transfuderat, transfudit & gratiam. Because by a Woman Sin entered into the World, therefore Salvation must be restored by a Virgin, &c. Because the Woman should not bear the Reproach of an eternal Guilt among the Men; the Woman, who first brought Guilt upon us, conveyed Grace to us. Aug. Ser. xiii. de Nat.

[k Two whole and perfect Natures, &c.] These Words are added, in Opposition to the Tenets of some of the antient Hereticks, who held the human Nature of Christ to be imperfect, as wanting an human Soul, which they said was supplied by the Presence of the Word, which did perform all the Operations of a Soul in Christ's Body. The Arians indeed were of this Opinion, but their greater Heresie in denying our Saviour's Divinity, made this Opinion of theirs less taken notice of. But the Apollinarians, who divided from the Orthodox in this Point, have made this Heterodoxy chiefly to be attributed to them; concerning whom I shall premise a few Words.

Of the Apollinarian Heresie.

[i In the Womb of the Blessed Virgin of her Substance.] This Truth was denied by Valentinus, and some other of the Hereticks of the first times; who taught, as Epiphanius relates, Ἀνέναντον κατενοήσαναι τὸ σῶμα, ὡς διὰ σωλῆρος ὕδατος, διὰ Μαρίας τὴν παρθένου διαλαλῶσαν. μηδὲν δὲ τὴν παρθένου μήτραν ἐκκεῖναι: That Christ brought a Body from Heaven, and as Water passes through a Pipe, so did that through the Virgin Mary; but received no Substance from the Virgin's Womb. Ep. Hær. xxxi. But this foolish Notion is excellently thus refuted by S. Chrysostom. Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡν τις χωρὶς τῆς μήτρας; ἐν τῷ τῷ ἡν, ἡδὲν ἔχει κοινὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀλλή τις ἐστὶν ἐκείνη ἢ σὰρξ ἢ τὸ σπέρμα. τὸ ἡμῶν; πῶς ἔν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης Ἰεσῶς; πῶς ἢ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ; πῶς ἢ ὡς ἀνθρώπου; πῶς ἢ μήτηρ τῆς Μαρίαν; πῶς ἢ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ; πῶς δὲ μορφοῦν δόξας ἐλάβε; πῶς ἢ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο; πῶς δὲ Ρωμαῖοις φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος. Ἐν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κτ' σάρκα, ὁ ἐκ πάντων Θεός; If this be so (i. e. if Christ passed through the Womb of the Virgin as a Channel) what need was there of the Womb of the Virgin at all? If this be so, Christ has nothing in common with us, he is another Flesh and not of the Mass of our Nature. How is he then of the Root of Jesse? How is he the Branch? How is he the Son of Man? How is he of the Seed of David? How did he take upon him the form of a Servant? How can the Apostle to the Romans say, of whom according to the Flesh Christ came, who is God over all? Chrys. Hom. iv. in Mat.

This Clause of the Article, most probably, was not here inserted with so much Particularity, in Opposition to the Hereticks of old, as to the Tenets of some of the Anabaptists and Enthusiasts, of the time when the Articles were drawn up. Two Years before King Edward's Articles were published, there was an obstinate Heretick burnt here in England, for maintaining the old Valentinian Heresy of Christ's passing through the Virgin Mary's Womb as through a Conduit. Which is particularly noted by King Edward VI. in his Diary. May 2. 1550. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding, that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the Year before, but kept in hopes of Conversion. And about the same time that Q. Elizabeth's Articles were published, one Adrian Hemsted came out of Zealand into England, but was afterwards forced to leave this Nation; who maintained a Doctrine of the same kind; and, among other Heterodoxies, laid down, That to believe That Christ was born of the Seed of the Woman, and that he was partaker of human Flesh, was no Article of the Christian Faith. Spond. Contin. Bar. Vol. ii. p. 784. Now because the Reformation might receive no Prejudice from these monstrous Opinions, it was by the Compilers of the Articles thought advisable to make an express Profession of our holding the true Catholick Doctrine in this particular.

I. These Hereticks owed their rise Apollinaris, when to one Apollinaris, who was Bishop he broached his of Laodicea, in the troublesome times Heresie, and what of Arianism, when there were one it was. or two Bishops of the several Factions in that City besides. He had formerly been under some disgrace, having with his Father lain under an Excommunication, for their Familiarity with Epiphanius a Heathen Sophist. Socr. Lib. ii. cap. ult. Soz. Lib. v. cap. 25. But the Son afterwards recovered his Credit among the Orthodox, by siding with them and espousing the cause of Athanasius, with whom he cultivated for some time a Friendship. Epiph. Hær. lxxvii. Leont. contr. Nest. Lib. iii. He was undoubtedly a very excellent Scholar, this being confess'd by his Adversaries. Epiphanius says, he was παιδεία ἡ τῇ τυχεῖσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ: A Man of no ordinary learning. Epiph. ibid. Vincentius Lirinensis says of him, Quid illo præstantius, acumine, exercitatione, doctrina? quam multas ille Hereses multis voluminibus opprefferit, quot inimicos fidei confutaverit errores, indicio est opus illud triginta non minus librorum nobilissimum, ac maximum, quo insanas Porphyrii calumnias, magna probationum mole confudit? What can be more excellent than Apollinaris, in Smartness, in Stile, in Learning? How many Heresies has he silenced by his indefatigable Writing, how many Heretical Errors has he confuted; witness that noble Book of his consisting of no less than thirty Volumes, in which he has so copiously confuted the Calumnies of Porphyry? There seem to have been two Editions as it were of his Heresy. The first at least he broached in his Father's time, in conjunction with him. For, as Socrates relates, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλεγον, &c. They first gave out, that there was no Soul taken by God the Word, in the Dispensation of the Incarnation: but afterwards, retracting this Opinion, they corrected themselves, and allowed that there was a Soul taken, ὅτι ἡ ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὴν ἀλλ' ἢ Θεὸν λόγον ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀναληθὴντα ἀνθρώπου, but that there was no Mind, God the Word being taken into Man, instead of a Mind. Socr. Lib. ii. cap. ult. Epiphanius thus declares what his Doctrine was, viz. Ἡ τέλειον ἀνθρώπου, ἐκ σαρκὸς καὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ θεότητος ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῦ: That Christ was perfect Man as consisting of Flesh and a sensitive Soul, and that his Godhead was in lieu of his Mind. Epiph. Hær. lxxvii. His Followers improved this Doctrine of his into a more monstrous and pestilential Heresie; viz. asserting, that Christ's Body, or Human Nature, was consubstantial with his Divinity. The detestableness of this Doctrine raised Athanasius into a pious Fervor, occasioning him thereupon thus to express himself. Πῶς ὁ Θεὸς ἦν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, &c. What Hell has exhorted this Doctrine, that the Body which was born of Mary should be consubstantial to the Deity? that the Word should be turned into Flesh, Bones, and the other Parts of human Body, and be changed from its own Nature? Who ever heard this from Christians, that the Son of God only in

shew and fiction had a Body, but no natural and true One? Can any one break out in such Impiety as to assert and imagine, That that Deity which is consubstantial with the Father should be circumscribed, and from perfect made imperfect? That that which was fastened to the Cross should not be a Body, but the very Essence or Substance (οὐσία) of him that made the World? Athan. Ep. ad Epist. His Heresie was several times condemned, first in a Synod held at Alexandria, A. D. cccxliii. in another at Antioch cccxxviii. and lastly by the second General Council which was held at Constantinople. These Fathers in Opposition to this Heresie declare thus, Τὸν ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας ὁ τὰ κρείττα λόγον ἀδιά-
σεστον σώζομεν, ὅτε ἀψυχον, ὅτε ἀνρὴν ἢ ἀτελήν ἢ ὁ σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν παραδεχόμενοι. ἔλον ὃ ἐδόξεν τέλειον μὲν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων θεῷ λόγον, τέλειον ὃ ἀνθρώπον ἐπ' ἐχάτων ἡμερῶν, διὰ ὃ ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν γενόμενον. We keep the Doctrine of the Lord's Incarnation inviolable, not allowing that the Oeconomy of the Flesh (i. e. Christ's human Nature) is without a Soul, or without a Mind: knowing that the Word was perfect from all Eternity, and that in these later Days he became perfect Man for our Salvation. Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. 9. Ed. Hen. Steph.

That Christ had an human Soul proved from Scripture.

Word was made Flesh, John i. 13. i. e. Man: that being the Meaning of Flesh in many Places of Scripture, Gen. vi. 12. Psal. cxlv. 21. Is. lxvi. 16. Jer. xxv. 31. Joel ii. 28. Luke iii. 6.

But besides our Saviour himself several times speaks of his Soul. The following Passages are rendered in our Translation Life, but they are ψυχὴ Soul in the Greek. I lay down my Soul for my Sheep, John x. 15. I lay down my Soul that I may take it again, ib. v. 17. But there are other Passages which cannot but be understood of Christ's Rational Soul. Thou shalt not leave my Soul in Hell; which Passage of the Psalmist St. Peter applies to our Saviour's Soul in the State of Separation, Acts ii. 27. When Christ says, My Soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto Death, it must be meant of his Rational Soul, or Mind.

Arguments for the same drawn from Reason.

1. Because, otherwise Christ could not be Man.

Porro nec anima per seipsum homo, quæ figmento jam homini appellato, postea inserta est: nec caro sine anima homo, quæ post exilium animæ, cadaver inscribitur. The Soul it self is not Man, this being infused into that outward Shape or organical Figure which we call Man: neither is the Body without the Soul Man, for when the Soul is separated from this it is no longer a Man, but a Carcase. Tert. de Res. Car. cap. 40. In like manner Athanasius, εἰς ὃ, τὸ κρεῖττον δι' ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπὶς γινόμενον, ἀνθρώπον ἵδ' το σῶμα. Since our Saviour was made Man for us, he could not have a Body without a Soul.

2. Because all that was impaired by Sin must be repaired.

for this, must partake of human Soul as well as Body. This is well expressed by Theodoret. Ἡ βελύχη αὐτὴν ἢ ἡ τῆς αἰσθητικῆς οὐσίας καταγωνισαῖς ἢ ἀντίπαλον, καὶ ὃ νίκην λαβὼν, τὴν ὃ χάριν, καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνέβαλε λογικὴν. He was willing to fight against the Adversary, in that Nature which he had worsted, and to gain a victory over him; for this Reason he took upon him both a Soul and a Body. Theod. Lib. v. contr. Hær. cap. 11. And for the same reason Athanasius says, Καὶ τοὶ καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔλον ἐλαβὲν ὁ πρῶτος ὁ δευτέρῳ Ἀδὰμ. The second Adam took on him

3. Because the Soul required a Redemption as well as the Body.

Soul and Body, and the whole Nature of the first. Athan. de. Sal. adv. (3.) Christ must have a Soul as well as a Body, that the whole Man might partake of the Benefits of Redemption. Wherefore thus Theodoret. Πάρεν γὰρ ἀνάληψα ὃ ἀνθρώπον, ἵνα καὶ πλήρη αὐτὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς νέκρας ζωοποιήσῃ. Christ took upon him whole Man, that he might make alive

whole Man, and all those that are dead, Theod. Dial. iii. This Prudentius expresses in these Verses.

Totum hominem Deus assumit, quia totus ab ipso est, Et totum redimit, quem sumpserat, omne reducens Quicquid homo est: istud tumulis, at illud Abyso.

God on him takes the whole of human Nature, For Man was wholly the Almighty's Creature: From Man's each part he danger does repell, This part from Grave he saves, and that from Hell.

Prud. in Apotheosi.

[Godhead and Manhood.] Our Articles asserting here that two Natures were joyned together in Christ, do in effect declare against the Heresie of Eutyches, who would allow but one Nature in Christ.

Of the Eutychian Heresie.

I. Eutyches was a Presbyter of Constantinople, and advanced to the Dignity of an Archimandrite or Abbot. When he was a Deacon he was of some considerable Note, use being made of him to carry a Letter written to the Emperor in the Name of the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius, Eph. Conc. Par. ii. Act. 3. His zeal against Nestorianism occasioned him to run into a contrary Error, which is a fate common to those, who oppose any Opinion without Discretion. Besides several Errors which were imputed to him, as his asserting that Christ had not a like Body with ours, and that he brought a Body with him from Heaven; the chief Heterodoxy which he was remarkably distinguished by, was his asserting, ante adunationem duas in Christo fuisse naturas, post adunationem vero unam factum esse, before the Union there were two Natures in Christ, and after the Union they were made one. Liber. Brev. c. 11. The same account is given in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon. Ομολογῶν ἐν δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι τὸ Κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνωσεως καὶ ὃ ἐνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶν. Soon after the broaching of his Heresie, he was cited to appear before a Synod of Bishops which met at Constantinople, under Flavianus Patriarch of the Place; but Eutyches for some time trifled with the Synod, now pretending he could not go out of his Abby, and othertime giving out he was sick; but at last, being boy'd up by the Power of Chrysaphius the Eunuch, a great Favorite of the Emperor Theodosius, who sent a Guard with him to the Synod, at last he appears before them, and, instead of recanting, makes an open Profession of his Heresie. For which he is condemned by the Synod, and deprived of his Abby and his Priesthood. Conc. Chal. P. i. Act 1. But Chrysaphius representing his Deposition to the Emperor, as a factious Proceeding of a few Bishops, obtains his Order that a new Council might be held of other Bishops less prejudiced to Eutyches at Ephesus, under Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, an Eutychian. This Council rescinds the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, restores Eutyches, and deposes Flavianus. By this the Affairs of the Church were involved in great Confusion, which occasioned the convening of the General Council of Chalcedon, which was ordered to meet by the Emperor Marcianus. This great Council met in October, A. D. CCCC LI. Dioscorus, who had been the President of the late Council of Ephesus, and the Manager for Eutyches, appeared here in his Place; but the Council would not let him sit there as a Judge, whom they designed to bring before them as a Criminal, and therefore he was soon ordered to withdraw. In this Council the Acts of the Ephesian Synod are rescinded, the Bishops by them deposed restored; Dioscorus is deposed as an Heretick and a factious Bishop; the Decrees of the Council of Constantinople with relation to the Condemnation of Eutyches are affirmed; and the Orthodox Faith declared to be τὴν αὐτὴν χεῖρὸν, ἡδὲ, κρείττον μονογενῆ, ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιασέτως, ἀχωρίτως γινόμενον. εἰς αἰῶνα ὃ καὶ δύο φύσεων διασφραγὶς ἀνενημένως διὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν, σωζομένης ὃ μᾶλλον ὃ ἰδιότητι ἐκατέρης φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἐν πρόσωπον, καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρέχουσιν. That Christ is the Son and the only begotten Lord, that he does consist of two Natures, unconfusedly, unvariably, undistinguishably, unseparably: That the difference of the Natures are not destroyed by the Union, the Properties of each Nature being preserved, they both making up one Person, and one Hypostasis. Con. Chalced. Act. v. But the Determinations of this great Council were so far from destroying this Heresie, that they tended only to make it

it flame the more, and spread it self into several Branches, the Greeks call them *κλίστα* Horns, under different Denominations, with new Heterodoxies added to the old: by means of which the Church was miserably distracted for a Century or more: *Alexandria* was all in Tumults upon the Deposition of *Dioscorus*, and *Proterius* being put in his Place; which last was murdered in his Church, by the Rable at the Instigation of *Timotheus Elurus* an Eutychian Presbyter. And matters in other Places being carried on in a like tumultuous Manner, the Emperor *Leo*, in order to quiet Affairs, sends his Circular Letters to the Bishops in the several Provinces of the Empire, to declare their Mind about the Council of *Chalcedon*, who almost unanimously declare, That they would defend that Council with their Blood, *Evag. Lib. ii. cap. 9.* Upon this *Timotheus*, who had invaded the See of *Alexandria*, is banished by the Decree of the Emperor. Afterwards when *Zeno* came to be Emperor, the Eutychian Controversies were still kept on foot, wherefore to quiet the Spirits of the contending Parties, he published his *Henoticon* or Project of Union, *A.D. CCCCLXXXII.* wherein he trimmed Matters between the Orthodox and the Eutychians. No mention of the two Natures being made in this Form of the Emperor, the Eutychians generally acquiesced therein, and thereby were restored to their Preferments: among these was *Acacius*, who declared an Anathema against the Council of *Chalcedon*, and impiously added the Words, who suffered for us, to the end of the *Trisagium*; declaring thereby that the whole Trinity suffered, and giving rise to the Heresie of the *Theopaschites*, *Evag. Lib. iii. cap. 16. Niceph. Lib. xviii. cap. 51.* Afterwards the Eutychians were divided among themselves, some of them refused (with *Moggus* Bishop of *Alexandria*) to Anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*; others divided from him therein, whereupon they gained the Name of the *Acephali*, i. e. Men without a Head, which Name afterwards was given to all the rigid Eutychians every where. The more moderate of these Hereticks, gained the Name of *ἡσυχασταί*, the *Hesitants* or *Doubters*. *Leont. de Sect.* From these Eutychians spawned some other Sects; as the *Phthartite* who would have Christ's Body to be corruptible; and the *Aphthartite* who would have it to be incorruptible. From the same arose the *Tritheites* who owned Three Gods, *Niceph. Lib. xviii. cap. 45.* These Quarrels continued on till the Reign of *Justinian*, who was persuaded to publish an Edict, to condemn *Origen's* Opinions, whose Books were in esteem among several of the Clergy. This netled *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, a great Admirer of *Origen*, and Favourer of *Eutyches* his Doctrine, to persuade the Emperor to publish an Edict likewise to condemn three Particulars of Heads of the Council of *Chalcedon*. 1. That which countenanced the Writings of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*. 2. The Epistle of *Ibas*. 3. *Theodoret's* Book against *Cyril*. All of them Authors who had written contrary to the Eutychian Doctrine. These are the *tria capitula* the three Chapters as they are called, that have made such a Noise in the World. *Justinian*, according as was desired of him, publishes his Edict against the three Chapters, *A.D. DXLVI.* Which *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* and most of the Western Bishops refuse to receive: at last he does it faintly, qualifying it with the Clause *salvâ Concilii Chalcedonensis reverentia*. But the Emperor insists to have him recognize it absolutely: this *Vigilius* refusing to do, is insulted by the Emperor's Guards, and pulled from the Altar of the Church he fled to, in a most scandalous manner. The Emperor by this fierceness having brought matters to a worse Issue than he found them, thought to piece up all by a Council held at *Constantinople*, *A.D. DLIII.* about the matter of the three Chapters, they condemning 60 Particulars in the Books of *Mopsuestenus*, but letting *Ibas* and *Theodoret* alone. This quieted Matters pretty well for a time in the East, but the Bishops of *Italy*, *Africa*, &c. refused to condemn any thing in those Chapters; and this Controversy was not composed in the West till the time of *Gregory the Great*; who wrote several Epistles to put an end to it. And in the East the Eutychian Doctrines broke out again, when the Heresie of the *Monothelites* arose, which is but another Branch of Eutychianism.

II. But it must be observed that these Eutychian Notions are contrary to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, which do plainly assert two Natures in Christ.

For all those Places of Scripture are a Proof of this, where our Saviour is declared to be God, and those where he is declared to be Man. But there are several Passages in which both Natures are mentioned to-

gether: As in that of *S. Paul*, Concerning his Son *Iesus Christ* our Lord, which was made of the Seed of *David* according to the Flesh, *Rom. i. 3.* Where one part of the Verse relates to Christ's Divine, and the other to his human Nature. In the first Chapter of the *Hebrews*, in respect of his Divinity he is said to be the brightness of the Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person, in the next Chapter, it is said, we see *Iesus*, who was made a little lower than the Angels for the suffering of Death crowned with Glory and Honour, that he by the Grace of God should taste Death for every Man, which is plainly spoken of his Humanity. So *Col. i. 14.* in respect of his Humanity it is said, In whom we have Redemption through his Blood, even the Forgiveness of Sins; but the next Verse relates to his Divinity: Who is the Image of the Invisible God, the first born of every Creature, *Col. i. 15.*

III. The Arguments drawn from Reason for the Confutation of the Eutychian Heresie, and for asserting the Distinction of the two Natures in Christ are chiefly these. (1.) Because Union does suppose Distinction or Division.

For thus *Theodoret* argues. *Διακρίσεις γὰρ ἐκ ὧν ἐκ ἀν ποτὲ ἐνωσις νουμένη ὁ τοῖς νυν ἔνωσιν λαμβάνων, περὶ λαμβάνει ἢ διακρίσειν.* Without Distinction or Division, it is not to be understood how any thing can be united. For he that supposes Union, supposes likewise Division. *Theod. in Conf. Anath. 3. Tom. 6. Cyr. Op.* (2.) Because a Distinction

remains in other Unions. Thus *Vincen- tius* on this Head. *Sicut in homine aliud Caro, & aliud Anima: sed unus idemque homo Anima & Caro. Ita in uno eodemque Christo, dua Substantia sunt, sed una divisa, altera humana. As in Man, the Flesh is one thing and the Soul another, and yet both Flesh and Soul is one Man. So in one and the same Christ, there are two Substances, the one Divine, the other Human.* (3.) Because the Properties or Idioms, both of Christ's Divinity and his Humanity, are reciprocally communicable to one another. For thus *Vigilius* in his Book against *Eutyches*. *Si ergo me interrogas utrum Christus habeat initium, an non habeat, respondebo tibi, & habet & non habet: habet secundum humanitatem suam, non habet secundum divinitatem suam.* If you ask me, whether Christ hath a beginning or no, I will answer, he has and he has not. He has according to his Humanity, and he has not according to his Divinity. And again. *Quicquid est proprium verbi est commune cum carne; & quicquid est proprium carnis commune cum Verbo est: quomodo Verbum & Caro unus est Christus & una Persona.* Whatever is proper to the Word is common to the Human Nature; and whatever is proper to the Human Nature is common to the Word: Therefore the Word is one Christ and one Person.

[*m One Christ.*] The Words *One Christ* are here set down, partly in Agreement with the Holy Scriptures which assert the same, and partly in Opposition to the Nestorian Heresie, which asserted such a Distinction in the Natures of Christ as made them to be two Persons, or in effect two Christs. We shall give a short account of the Rise of this Heresie, as we have done of the others; though, if we had observed the Order of Time, and not the Words of the Articles, we should have related this, before the Heresie of *Eutyches*.

Of the Nestorian Heresie.

This Heresie was broached by *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, about the Year of our Lord *CCCCXXX.* *Nestorius* was born at *Germanicia*, a little Town in *Syria*, and having travelled into several Countries to improve his Studies, and to exercise his Talent of Eloquence, which he was remarkable for, particularly the sweetness of his Voice, he at last settled at *Antioch*. *Socr. Lib. vii. cap. 29. Theod. Lib. iv. de Hær. cap. 12.* He is said some time to have lead a Monastick Life. *Nic. Lib. xiv. cap. 36.* but afterward taking Orders he became a celebrated Preacher, and was the more admired for the Gravity of his Temper, and for his studious Retirement. *Evag. Lib. i. cap. 7.* In the Year *CCCCXXVII.* *Sisinnius* Bishop of *Constantinople* dying, the Emperors were willing that a Foreigner should rather succeed in that See than a Native, and *Nestorius* being of the same City from whence the famous *John Chrysostom* came, they cast their Eyes upon him; and

shew and fiction had a Body, but no natural and true One? Can any one break out in such Impiety as to assert and imagine, That that Deity which is consubstantial with the Father should be circumscribed, and from perfect made imperfect? That that which was fastened to the Cross should not be a Body, but the very Essence or Substance (οὐσία) of him that made the World? Athan. Ep. ad Epist. His Heresie was several times condemned, first in a Synod held at Alexandria, A. D. cccxliii. in another at Antioch cccxxviii. and lastly by the second General Council which was held at Constantinople. These Fathers in Opposition to this Heresie declare thus, Τὸν ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας ὁ τὸ κρείσσον λόγον ἀδιάσπαστον σώζομεν, ὅτε ἀψυχον, ὅτε ἀνρ. ἢ ἀτελὴν ὁ τὸ σαρκὶς οἰκονομίαν παρεσχόμενοι. ἔλον ὃ ἐπιδότες τέλειον μὲν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων θεῷ λόγον, τέλειον ὃ ἀνθρώπον ἐπ' ἐχάτων ἡμερῶν διὰ τὸ ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν γενόμενον. We keep the Doctrine of the Lord's Incarnation inviolable, not allowing that the Oeconomy of the Flesh (i. e. Christ's human Nature) is without a Soul, or without a Mind: knowing that the Word was perfect from all Eternity, and that in these later Days he became perfect Man for our Salvation. Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. 9. Ed. Hen. Steph.

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Porro nec anima per seipsum homo, quæ figmento jam homini appellato, postea inserta est: nec caro sine anima homo, quæ post exilium animæ, cadaver inscribitur. The Soul it self is not Man, this being infused into that outward Shape or organical Figure which we call Man: neither is the Body without the Soul Man, for when the Soul is separated from this it is no longer a Man, but a Carcase. Tert. de Res. Car. cap. 40. In like manner Athanasius, ἐπεὶ ὁ τὸ κρείσσον δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπου γινόμενος, ἀνθρώπου ἵδ' τοῦ σώματος: Since our Saviour was made Man for us, he could not have a Body without a Soul.

2. Because all that was impaired by Sin must be repaired.

for this, must partake of human Soul as well as Body. This is well expressed by Theodoret. Ἡβλήθη αὐτὴν ὁ πτωχίσαν οὖσιν καταγωνισαὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον, καὶ τὸ νίκην λαβεῖν, τὴν ὃ ἡδύν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνέβαλε λογικὴν. He was willing to fight against the Adversary, in that Nature which he had worsted, and to gain a victory over him; for this Reason he took upon him both a Soul and a Body. Theod. Lib. v. contr. Hæc. cap. 11. And for the same reason Athanasius says, Καὶ τοὶ αἱ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔλον ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου ὁ δεύτερος Ἀδάμ. The second Adam took on him

3. Because the Soul required a Redemption as well as the Body.

Soul and Body, and the whole Nature of the first. Athan. de Sal. adv. (3.) Christ must have a Soul as well as a Body, that the whole Man might partake of the Benefits of Redemption. Wherefore thus Theodoret. Πλήρη γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα καὶ πληρὴ αὐτὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς νέκρας ζωοποιήσῃ. Christ took upon him whole Man, that he might make alive

whole Man, and all those that are dead, Theod. Dial. iii. This Prudentius expresses in these Verses.

Totum hominem Deus assumit, quia totus ab ipso est, Et totum redimit, quem sumpserat, omne reducens Quicquid homo est: istud tumultis, at illud Abyss.

God on him takes the whole of human Nature, For Man was wholly the Almighty's Creature: From Man's each part he danger does repell, This part from Grave he saves, and that from Hell.

Prud. in Apotheosi.

[Godhead and Manhood.] Our Articles asserting here that two Natures were joyned together in Christ, do in effect declare against the Heresie of Eutyches, who would allow but one Nature in Christ.

Of the Eutychian Heresie.

I. Eutyches was a Presbyter of Constantinople, and advanced to the Dignity of an Archimandrite or Abbot. When he was a Deacon he was of some considerable Note, use being made of him to carry a Letter written to the Emperor in the Name of the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius, Eph. Conc. Par. ii. Act. 3. His zeal against Nestorianism occasioned him to run into a contrary Error, which is a fate common to those, who oppose any Opinion without Discretion. Besides several Errors which were imputed to him, as his asserting that Christ had not a like Body with ours, and that he brought a Body with him from Heaven; the chief Heterodoxy which he was remarkably distinguished by, was his asserting, ante adunationem duas in Christo fuisse naturas, post adunationem vero unam factum esse, before the Union there were two Natures in Christ, and after the Union they were made one. Liber. Brev. c. 11. The same account is given in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon. Ὁμολογῶν ἐν δύο φύσεων γεννηθῆς καὶ κρείσσον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως μὲν ὃ τὸ ἐνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶν. Soon after the broaching of his Heresie, he was cited to appear before a Synod of Bishops which met at Constantinople, under Flavianus Patriarch of the Place; but Eutyches for some time trifled with the Synod, now pretending he could not go out of his Abby, and othertime giving out he was sick; but at last, being boy'd up by the Power of Chrysaphius the Eunuch, a great Favorite of the Emperor Theodosius, who sent a Guard with him to the Synod, at last he appears before them, and, instead of recanting, makes an open Profession of his Heresie. For which he is condemned by the Synod, and deprived of his Abby and his Priesthood. Conc. Chal. P. i. Act. 1. But Chrysaphius representing his Deposition to the Emperor, as a factious Proceeding of a few Bishops, obtains his Order that a new Council might be held of other Bishops less prejudiced to Eutyches at Ephesus, under Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, an Eutychian. This Council rescinds the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, restores Eutyches, and deposes Flavianus. By this the Affairs of the Church were involved in great Confusion, which occasioned the convening of the General Council of Chalcedon, which was ordered to meet by the Emperor Marcianus. This great Council met in October, A. D. cccc. li. Dioscorus, who had been the President of the late Council of Ephesus, and the Manager for Eutyches, appeared here in his Place; but the Council would not let him sit there as a Judge, whom they designed to bring before them as a Criminal, and therefore he was soon ordered to withdraw. In this Council the Acts of the Ephesian Synod are rescinded, the Bishops by them deposed restored; Dioscorus is deposed as an Heretick and a factious Bishop; the Decrees of the Council of Constantinople with relation to the Condemnation of Eutyches are affirmed; and the Orthodox Faith declared to be τὸν αὐτὸν χεῖρον, ὡς, κρείσσον μονογενῆς, ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἀσυσχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαρέτως, ἀχωρίτως γνωρίζομενον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἡμῖν φύσεων διαφορὰς ἀνηρημένους διὰ τὴν ἐνώσιν, σώζομεν καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ ἰδιότυπον ἐκατέρης φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἐν πρὸσωπον, καὶ μίαν ἁπόσιν συντρέχοντες. That Christ is the Son and the only begotten Lord, that he does consist of two Natures, unconfusedly, unvariably, undistinguishably, unseparably: That the difference of the Natures are not destroyed by the Union, the Properties of each Nature being preserved, they both making up one Person, and one Hypostasis. Con. Chalced. Act. v. But the Determinations of this great Council were so far from destroying this Heresie, that they tended only to make it

it flame the more, and spread it self into several Branches, the Greeks call them *κλῆρα* Horns, under different Denominations, with new Heterodoxies added to the old: by means of which the Church was miserably distracted for a Century or more: *Alexandria* was all in Tumults upon the Deposition of *Dioscorus*, and *Proterius* being put in his Place; which last was murdered in his Church, by the Rable at the Instigation of *Timotheus Alurus* an Eutychian Presbyter. And matters in other Places being carried on in a like tumultuous Manner, the Emperor *Leo*, in order to quiet Affairs, sends his Circular Letters to the Bishops in the several Provinces of the Empire, to declare their Mind about the Council of *Chalcedon*, who almost unanimously declare, *That they would defend that Council with their Blood*, Evag. Lib. ii. cap. 9. Upon this *Timotheus*, who had invaded the See of *Alexandria*, is banished by the Decree of the Emperor. Afterwards when *Zeno* came to be Emperor, the Eutychian Controversies were still kept on foot, wherefore to quiet the Spirits of the contending Parties, he published his *Henoticon* or Project of Union, A.D. CCCCLXXXII. wherein he trimmed Matters between the Orthodox and the Eutychians. No mention of the two Natures being made in this Form of the Emperor, the Eutychians generally acquiesced therein, and thereby were restored to their Preferments: among these was *Acacius*, who declared an Anathema against the Council of *Chalcedon*, and impiously added the Words, *who suffered for us*, to the end of the *Trisagium*; declaring thereby that the whole Trinity suffered, and giving rise to the Heresie of the *Theopaschites*, Evag. Lib. iii. cap. 16. Niceph. Lib. xviii. cap. 51. Afterwards the Eutychians were divided among themselves, some of them refused (with *Moggus* Bishop of *Alexandria*) to Anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*; others divided from him therein, whereupon they gained the Name of the *Acephali*. i. e. *Men without a Head*, which Name afterwards was given to all the rigid Eutychians every where. The more moderate of these Hereticks, gained the Name of *ὑποκρίματα*, the *Hesitants* or *Doubters*. Leont. de Sect. From these Eutychians spawned some other Sects; as the *Phthartite* who would have Christ's Body to be corruptible; and the *Aphthartite* who would have it to be incorruptible. From the same arose the *Tritheites* who owned Three Gods, Niceph. Lib. xviii. cap. 45. These Quarrels continued on till the Reign of *Justinian*, who was persuaded to publish an Edict, to condemn *Origen's* Opinions, whose Books were in esteem among several of the Clergy. This netled *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, a great Admirer of *Origen*, and Favourer of *Eutyches* his Doctrine, to persuade the Emperor to publish an Edict likewise to condemn three Particulars of Heads of the Council of *Chalcedon*. 1. That which countenanced the Writings of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*. 2. The Epistle of *Ibas*. 3. *Theodoret's* Book against *Cyril*. All of them Authors who had written contrary to the Eutychian Doctrine. These are the *tria capitula* the three Chapters as they are called, that have made such a Noise in the World. *Justinian*, according as was desired of him, publishes his Edict against the three Chapters, A.D. DXLVI. Which *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* and most of the Western Bishops refuse to receive: at last he does it faintly, qualifying it with the Clause *salvâ Concilii Chalcedonenfis reverentia*. But the Emperor insists to have him recognize it absolutely: this *Vigilius* refusing to do, is insulted by the Emperor's Guards, and pulled from the Altar of the Church he fled to, in a most scandalous manner. The Emperor by this fierceness having brought matters to a worse Issue than he found them, thought to piece up all by a Council held at *Constantinople*, A.D. DLIII. about the matter of the three Chapters, they condemning 60 Particulars in the Books of *Mopsuestenus*, but letting *Ibas* and *Theodoret* alone. This quieted Matters pretty well for a time in the East, but the Bishops of *Italy*, *Africa*, &c. refused to condemn any thing in those Chapters; and this Controversy was not composed in the West till the time of *Gregory the Great*; who wrote several Epistles to put an end to it. And in the East the Eutychian Doctrines broke out again, when the Heresie of the Monothelites arose, which is but another Branch of Eutychianism.

The two Natures of Christ proved from Scripture. II. But it must be observed that these Eutychian Notions are contrary to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, which do plainly assert two Natures in Christ.

For all those Places of Scripture are a Proof of this, where our Saviour is declared to be God, and those where he is declared to be Man. But there are several Passages in which both Natures are mentioned to-

gether: As in that of *S. Paul*, Concerning his Son *Jesus Christ* our Lord, which was made of the Seed of *David* according to the Flesh, Rom. i. 3. Where one part of the Verse relates to Christ's Divine, and the other to his human Nature. In the first Chapter of the *Hebrews*, in respect of his Divinity he is said to be the brightness of the Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person, in the next Chapter, it is said, we see *Jesus*, who was made a little lower than the Angels for the suffering of Death crowned with Glory and Honour, that he by the Grace of God should tast Death for every Man, which is plainly spoken of his Humanity. So Col. i. 14. in respect of his Humanity it is said, In whom we have Redemption through his Blood, even the Forgiveness of Sins; but the next Verse relates to his Divinity: *Who is the Image of the Invisible God, the first born of every Creature*, Col. i. 15.

III. The Arguments drawn from Reason for the Confutation of the Eutychian Heresie, and for asserting the Distinction of the two Natures in Christ are chiefly these. (1.) Because Union does suppose Distinction or Division. For thus *Theodoret* argues. Διαρέσεως ὃ ἐκ ἑσῆς ἐκ αὐτῆς ποτε ἐκαστος νοηθῆναι ὁ τοῖς νυν ἔνωσιν λαμβάνων, περιλαμβάνει τὴν διαίρεσιν. Without Distinction or Division, it is not to be understood how any thing can be united. For he that supposes Union, supposes likewise Division. Theod. in Conf. Anath. 3. Tom.

6. Cyr. Op. (2.) Because a Distinction remains in other Unions. Thus *Vincetius* on this Head. Sicut in homine aliud Caro, & aliud Anima: sed unus idemque homo Anima & Caro. Ita in uno eodemque Christo, due Substantie sunt, sed una divina, altera humana. As in Man, the Flesh is one thing and the Soul another, and yet both Flesh and Soul is one Man. So in one and the same Christ, there are two Substances, the one Divine, the other Human. (3.) Because the Properties or Idioms, both of Christ's Divinity and his Humanity, are reciprocally communicable to one another. For thus *Vigilius* in his Book against *Eutyches*. Si ergo me interroges utrum Christus habeat initium, an non habeat, respondebo tibi, & habet & non habet: habet secundum humanitatem suam, non habet secundum divinitatem suam. If you ask me, whether Christ hath a beginning or no, I will answer, he has and he has not. He has according to his Humanity, and he has not according to his Divinity. And again. Quicquid est proprium verbi est commune cum carne; & quicquid est proprium carnis commune cum Verbo est: quomodo Verbum & Caro unus est Christus & una Persona. Whatever is proper to the Word is common to the Human Nature; and whatever is proper to the Human Nature is common to the Word: Therefore the Word is one Christ and one Person.

Reasons for asserting two Natures in Christ. 1. Union supposes Distinction. 2. The like Distinction in other Unions.

3. Because the Idioms of one Nature are communicated to the other.

For thus *Vigilius* in his Book against *Eutyches*. Si ergo me interroges utrum Christus habeat initium, an non habeat, respondebo tibi, & habet & non habet: habet secundum humanitatem suam, non habet secundum divinitatem suam. If you ask me, whether Christ hath a beginning or no, I will answer, he has and he has not. He has according to his Humanity, and he has not according to his Divinity. And again. Quicquid est proprium verbi est commune cum carne; & quicquid est proprium carnis commune cum Verbo est: quomodo Verbum & Caro unus est Christus & una Persona. Whatever is proper to the Word is common to the Human Nature; and whatever is proper to the Human Nature is common to the Word: Therefore the Word is one Christ and one Person.

Therefore the Word is one Christ and one Person.

[*m One Christ.*] The Words *One Christ* are here set down, partly in Agreement with the Holy Scriptures which assert the same, and partly in Opposition to the Nestorian Heresie, which asserted such a Distinction in the Natures of Christ as made them to be two Persons, or in effect two Christs. We shall give a short account of the Rise of this Heresie, as we have done of the others; though, if we had observed the Order of Time, and not the Words of the Articles, we should have related this, before the Heresie of *Eutyches*.

Of the Nestorian Heresie.

This Heresie was broached by *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, about the Year of our Lord CCCXXX. *Nestorius* was born at *Germanicia*, a little Town in *Syria*, and having travelled into several Countries to improve his Studies, and to exercise his Talent of Eloquence, which he was remarkable for, particularly the sweetness of his Voice, he at last settled at *Antioch*. Socr. Lib. vii. cap. 29. Theod. Lib. iv. de Hær. cap. 12. He is said some time to have lead a Monastick Life. Nic. Lib. xiv. cap. 36. but afterward taking Orders he became a celebrated Preacher, and was the more admired for the Gravity of his Temper, and for his studious Retirement. Evag. Lib. i. cap. 7. In the Year CCCXXXVII. *Sisinnius* Bishop of *Constantinople* dying, the Emperors were willing that a Foreigner should rather succeed in that See than a Native, and *Nestorius* being of the same City from whence the famous *John Chrysostom* came, they cast their Eyes upon him; and

in the Year CCCCXXVIII. he was ordained Bishop of Constantinople. At his first Entrance upon his Bishoprick, he was a fierce Prosecutor of the Hereticks. He used a strange sort of Expression in a Sermon before the Emperor Theodosius. Give me, O Emperor, the World free from Hereticks, and I in lieu of it will give you Heaven. Joyn with me in destroying the Hereticks, and I will joyn with you to Conquer the Persians. These Expressions though they were pleasing to some of the Catholicks, yet it alienated the Affections of many from him. A^d. Conc. Eph. Par. iii. He had been acquainted with Theodorus of Mopsuestia, a Man of Heterodox Principles, from whom 'tis thought he received some Prejudices against the Doctrine of the Trinity. Evag. Lib. i. cap. 2. These Notions he privately communicated to Anastasius a Presbyter, who was a Creature of his; declaring to him chiefly his dislike the Word of Θεοτόκος, the Mother of God, or she that brought forth God. Anastasius preaching a publick Sermon, at which Nestorius was present, used this Expression. Let no one call Mary the Mother of God; for Mary was a Woman: but 'tis impossible for a Woman to bring forth a God. Socr. Lib. vii. cap. 32. Cyril writes, that he persuaded one Dorotheus a Bishop who had Dependence upon him, to declare an Anathema against all that should call the Blessed Virgin Θεοτόκος, Cyr. Ep. 9. This having been long used as a pious Expression without Offence, the People were highly displeased to have it thus opposed by Persons in holy Orders; but were more enraged when Dorotheus and Anastasius were defended by the Patriarch Nestorius himself; who in several Homilies to the People maintain'd what the others had said, supporting his Opinion with Arguments which were thought contrary to the Catholick Faith. This made the greatest part of the City refuse to joyn Communion with him. Soc. Lib. vii. cap. 28. Nestorius having given out some Copies of his Homilies, a Transcript of them got into Egypt, and occasioned Doubts in the Minds of some simple and honest Men there. This occasioned Cyril Bishop of Alexandria, suppressing his Name, to write a Letter to the Egyptian Monks, to guard them against the Heterodoxy contained in Nestorius his Homilies. A Copy of this Letter getting to Constantinople, was highly satisfactory there, and confirmed many Persons in the Catholick Faith, who had been wavering on account of Nestorius his Doctrine; and it coming to be known that it was written by Cyril, the Magistrates of Constantinople writ a Letter of Thanks to him for it. Cyr. Ep. 9. This Letter of Cyril nettled Nestorius, which Cyril perceiving wrote to him very kind Letters, persuading him to retract those Heterodox Notions which he had vented in those Homilies. But, instead of this, Nestorius defends his Opinion of the different Personalities of Christ. And after much Paper combat, they proceed to Anathematize one another. Cyril draws up 12 Articles of Heresie against Nestorius, and Nestorius in his turn draws up as many against Cyril, A^d. Eph. Con. Great Troubles arising from this Controversie, the Emperor thought it convenient that a General Council should be called, to meet at Ephesus on Whitsunday, A. D. CCCCXXX. Most of the Bishops from the several Countries met at the time appointed, only John Bishop of Antioch, who was a Friend of Nestorius, with some other Bishops whom he could influence, staid away during the beginning of the Assembly. But however the Fathers there present proceed without them. And from the Evidence of his own Homilies and Letters, they condemn him for Heresie in holding two Persons in Christ. Conc. Eph. Par. 2. Some Days afterwards the Party of John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus, who hearing of the Condemnation of Nestorius, refused to joyn with the Council, but form an Anti-Synod of themselves, and Anathematize Cyril, as the Fathers of the Council had done to Nestorius. This Anti-Synod having the favour of the Counts Irenaeus and Candidianus, loaded the Council with many Calumnies, much prejudicing the Emperor against them, the same Persons hindring the Letters, written by the Council in their Vindication, from coming to the Emperor's Hands, Con. Eph. ib. After this seven Deputies, from each Synod, are appointed by the Emperor to bring Matters to Agreement, but nothing is done; for the Deputies of the Council will not agree to the acquitting of Nestorius. At length the Emperor takes the Matter into his Hands; confirms the Condemnation of Nestorius, but acquits Cyril and all others whom the Anti-Synod had accused. The See of Constantinople being thus void, Maximianus is chosen into his Place. Socr. Lib. vii. cap. 35. And the Church had quiet, till it was disturbed again by the Heresie of Eutyches, which has been before related. Indeed Nestorius and his Followers preten-

ded, that He had had hard Usage afforded him by the Synod, he never having in Words asserted that there were two Christs, or that Christ had two Persons. But this Cyril says was owing to Heretical Craft. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ σκοπὸς ἐκείνους δύο λόγων χάριν, καὶ δύο υἱῶν, καὶ τὸ ἄνθρωπον ἰδικῶς, καὶ θεὸν ἰδικῶς εἶτα μόνων τῶν προσώπων ποιῶσιν καὶ ἑνῶσιν, διὰ τοῦτο ποικίλλονται, καὶ προσάφει πλάττονται ἐν ἀμαρτίαις. Whereas their design is to assert two Christs and two Sons; and to make Christ to be singly Man and singly God; but having gained their Point in this to declare for an Unity of the Persons: but in this they only act a part, and procure a Pretext for their Impiety. Cyr. Ep. 8. ad Cler. Const. The same is imputed to him, by other Writers who give an account of his Heresie. For Leontius says, that δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διείρεσθαι: He asserted two Personalities in Christ, and a Division of his Divinity and Humanity. Leon. de Sect. And Vincentius Lirinensis testifies. Nestorius, contrario Apollinari morbo, dum se duas in Christo Substantias distinguere simulat, duas introducit repente Personas: Et inaudito scelere duos vult esse filios Dei, duos Christos: unum Deum, alterum hominem: unum qui ex Patre, alterum qui sit generatus ex Matre. Nestorius, falling into a contrary Heresie to that of Apollinaris, whilst he pretends to distinguish the two Substances in Christ, in the mean time introduces two Persons: and by an unheard of Impiety, will have that there are two Sons of God and two Christs: one God, the other Man: one born of his Father, the other generated of his Mother. Most certain it is he was a bold positive Man, and talked and wrote many things very unjustifiable. There was not so much harm in his first opposing the use of the Word Θεοτόκος: for indeed this was an odd Expression, and occasioned many unwarrantable Honours, which were afterwards paid to the Blessed Virgin. But what he said afterwards, to defend this Opposition, was directly contrary to the received Catholick Faith, and to the Holy Scriptures. He probably might have waved his Condemnation, had he managed himself with tolerable Temper or Discretion. What he said just before his Trial at the Council, and was witnessed there by two Bishops, Theodorus and Acacius, do sufficiently shew the Temper and Opinion of the Man: δεινὸν αἰσχρὸν ἢ τεταπεινωμένον μὴ δεῖν λέγεσθαι θεόν: 'tis a shame to reckon him a God, that was once two Months, or three Months old. Conc. Eph. Par. ii. A^d 1. Which Expression was the more scandalous, because it was one of the common Scoffs of Celsus and Porphyry, and other Enemies of Christianity.

II. That Christ is one Person, is the One Person of Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, The Christ proved Word was made Flesh and dwelt among from Scripture. us, John i. 14. The same Christ which descended (i.e. the unbodied Logos) was the same that ascended (viz. with his Body) Eph. iv. 10. The same Christ who was in the form of God and thought it no robbery to be equal with God, took upon him the form of a Servant, Phil. iv. 6, 7. There is one Mediator between God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus, 1 Tim. ii. 5.

III. The Reasons which have been urged for our Saviour's being one Person, are chiefly these. (1.) If the Divinity and Humanity of Christ made two Personalities, they would not be so Physically and Substantially United, that the Properties of the one should be attributed to the other, as we find they are in Scripture. Now this could not be according to Nestorius's Hypothesis, who made Christ θεὸν ἰδικῶς and ἄνθρωπον ἰδικῶς, God singly and Man singly. Wherefore the Nestorians avoided all Expressions, which might denote a Physical Union. They avoided the use of the Word ἑνῶσις which signified the being made one, and on that account seemed to bear too hard upon their Notion of two Persons; chusing rather to express themselves by ἐνσκήσις Inhabitation or Indwelling: by συνάφεια Consociation: by φιλία or εἰς Familiarity or Friendship. vid. Cyr. cont. Nest. (2.) Because if the Conjunction of the two Natures of Christ were not Physical, or if there were two different Personalities, the Divinity would not be United to Christ, more than to any Prophet who was inspired by God, or any good Man to whom God is present by his Grace. For thus S. Cyril Reasons with great strength. Κακὴ γνώμη τῶν τούτων ἐν καὶ φύσει καὶ ἀληθῶς ὡς ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, καὶ σεσαρκωμένον διιδόντες εἰς δύο παραινέται μὴ καὶ ἑνῶσιν, συνάφειαν δε ὀνομάζουσιν, ἣν ἂν ἔχοι τυχήν καὶ ἐτερεῖς τις περὶ θεόν, ὡς καὶ ἀρετὴς καὶ ἀγίασμα μόνον καὶ συνδύμενον. They act very craftily, after they have divided into two the one Christ who was made the Son of Man and incarnate, refuse to use the Word ἑνῶσις [Union] but chuse, rather to use συνάφεια

who truly Suffered, was Crucified, Dead and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice, not only for Original Guilt, but also for Actual Sins of Men.

who truly Suffered, was Dead and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice not only for Original Guilt, but also for * Actual Sins of Men.

Deus & verus Homo, qui verè passus est, crucifixus, mortuus & sepultus, ut patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia, non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

* All Actual Sins, MS. CCC. 1571.

quia [Sociation] which any one may have with God being united to him by Virtue or Sanctification, Cyr. Tom. v. ed. Par. 733. The same Argument is urged in these Verses of Gregory Nazianzen.

Θεὸς ὃ δὲ μετέχων ἀνθρώπου φύσεως
οὐχ ὡς Προφήτης, ἢ τις ἄλλος ἐθέλων.
Ὅς ἔθεός μετέχευε, τῷ θεῷ ὃ γὰρ
Ἄλλ' ἐσιωθῆναι ὡς περ ἀνθρώπος ἡλίου.

*When Christ did Man become, he did partake
Of God in full, not like unto a Prophet,
Or other Man inspired; who don't partake
So much of God as of the things of God:
The Union was Substantial, as the Rays
Are with the Sun United.*

Greg. Naz. Carm. de vita sua.

3. Because the like is observed in the Unions of other Substances, as particularly that of the Soul of Man with the Body. For thus an antient Writer in these Controversies. *Anima rationalis & Corpus hominis identitatem naturæ circa unionem suscipiunt. The Rational Soul and the Body of Man undergo the same Identity, as to matter of Union, Rust. Diac. Dial. contr. Aceph. The same Argument is advanced in the Athanasian Creed. As the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man; so God and Man is one Christ.*

Reality of Christ's Suffering.

n Who truly Suffered, &c.] The History of our Saviour's suffering Death, and Burial, is so fully related in the

Gospels, and owned by the Heathens themselves, who frequently upbraided them for their believing and worshipping a crucified Saviour, that nothing but unaccountable humour or stupidity could make any doubt of it. But some there formerly were, who would have all Christ's Passion to be but mere Shew and Appearance, from whence they got the Name of *Docetæ* and *Phantasiastæ*. They were as early as *Ignatius* his Time, whose Opinions he opposes several times in his Epistles, particularly in this Passage. *Ἐφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν ἀληθῶς ἐσαυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανε ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐδοκίμασε ἐσαυρώθην καὶ ἀπέθαναι, βλέπόντων ἡγερέων, καὶ ἐπηγείων καὶ καταχθονίων. He truly Eat and Drank, and was crucified and died under Pontius Pilate. He was, I say, truly crucified and died, and not in Appearance: Those that were in Heaven and Earth and Hell viewing him. Epist. ad Trall. The same Heresie was maintained by some in *Athanasius* his Time, as appears from that of him, wherein he thus opposes the Phantasiasts. Ἡ δὲ πάντα ἀληθῆ πισυτέον, &c. We must either believe that all things in his History are true, and then we must own the Truth of his Passion; or if we say that he suffered impassibly, then we must account all other Passages of his to be Figure and Fancy. If he did not suffer truly, neither did he arise truly: if he did not truly taste of Death, neither did he extinguish the sting of Death; we are still in our Sins; Death still reigneth over all, and we are still Strangers to the Inheritance. Athan. adv. eos qui Verb. impar.*

o To reconcile his Father to us.] These Words of the Article do plainly set forth the most necessary Christian Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction; whereby our blessed Lord, out of his great Love to Mankind, was willing to suffer Death for our Sins, that thereby the Authority of God's Laws might be kept up and his Justice vindicated, and we might be delivered from the Punishment of Eternal Death. The Socinians indeed do with all their Might oppose this Doctrine, because it has so high a Relation to Christ's Divinity, which they deny; and therefore will not allow, that

Christ died to make Satisfaction for our Sins, but only to confirm the Doctrine which he taught, and to afford us an eminent Example of Patience. Now for the better understanding of this Doctrine, it will be requisite to remark the following Particulars.

Of the Satisfaction of Christ.

I. That it is necessary, that such a Satisfaction should be made for our Sins. *Necessity of Christ's Satisfaction.*

The Socinians are so far from allowing any such Necessity, that they will not own that God had any just Reasons at all to require any Satisfaction to be made, for the saving Men's Souls. Some others, on the other extreme, deny it to be at all in the Power of God, to have pardoned Sin, without this Satisfaction of his Son. But as the former Opinion is contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture, so the latter seems to be too bold an Assertion, it not having sufficient warrant from Scripture, and seems to entrench upon the Liberty and Power of the Divine Nature, which has Infinite ways of working, which we are not able to comprehend. That of the Apostle ought to be a Check to such bold Determinations. *Who hath known the Mind of the Lord, and who hath been his Counsellor? Rom. xi. 34. How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his ways past finding out! Rom. xi. 33. The Antients were more modest in this point. For Athanasius says, Ἡ δύναμις καὶ μὴ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐπέσκηψε αὐτῷ, μόνον εἰπεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ αὐταὶ ἤ κατὰ δυνάμιν αὐτῷ, δὲ τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λυσιτιλεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἐν πασὶ τῷ δυνάτον τῷ θεῷ λογίζεσθαι. God might, if he had pleased, without coming into the World, have by speaking a Word dissolved the Curse. But we ought to consider what Method was more profitable for Men, and not to think in all things what God might have done. So S. Austin declares, non alium modum possibilem nos liberandi Deo defuisse, sed sananda miserie nostrae convenientiorem modum alium non fuisse: That God was not at a loss for other possible Methods of saving us, but this was the more convenient Method of rescuing us from Misery. Therefore avoiding both these Extremes, we have very good Ground from Scripture to assert, That God had very just and sufficient Reasons moving him, to pursue this Method which he took, for the Redemption of the World, by the Satisfaction of his Son. (1.) For he could*

God's Goodness a Motive to accept of Christ's Satisfaction for the Pardon of Sin.

not but, in general, be inclined to find out a way to Pardon Man's Sins, by his Goodness, and Mercy. For when he is described in Scripture to be the Lord God merciful and gracious, *Exod. xxiv. 6. the Lord good and ready to forgive, Psal. lxxxvi. 5. when, after his Example, we are commanded, to be merciful as our Father in heaven is merciful, Luke vi. 36. when we are informed of the riches of his goodness, and that the goodness of God leadeth to Repentance, Rom. ii. 4. we cannot but think this glorious Attribute did incline him to rescue us from Eternal Misery. (2.) When God had positively declared his Aversion to Sin, that he hated all the workers of iniquity, *Psal. v. 5. that they who are of a froward heart are an abomination to the Lord, Prov. xi. 20. that he will visit for such things, and that his Soul will be avenged, Jer. v. 31: All these and innumerable other Expressions in Scripture do denote God's great Detestation of Sin. And having forbidden Sin by so many plain and positive Laws, and repeated Commands, given out by the greatest Authority, that of an Almighty Creator; and which notwithstanding Men did continually break, by reason of the Violence of their Lusts and Passions; he was willing to adjust such a temperature of his Goodness and Mercy, as should manifest**

His hatred of Sin a Motive not to pardon Sin without it.

felt at the same time both his hatred to Sin, and withal a regard for the observance of his Laws; so that by a commutation of the Punishment, his Authority might be preserved, and Mankind be freed from the Miseries, which their Disobedience subjected them to.

II. That Christ did make a true proper Satisfaction for us, in dying for our Sins. (1.) Because Christ is frequently in Scripture called our Mediator; which does denote, that he was to make up a Difference which was between God and Man, and to procure our Peace with God, whom we had offended by our Disobedience; this being a Metaphor drawn from the usual Carriage of an offended Person, who will not admit to his Presence one who has grievously injured him, and therefore the Reconciliation must be adjusted by a third Person. Thus Christ is said to be the Mediator of the New Testament, that by means of Death, for the Redemption of the Transgressions that were under the first Testament, they which are called might receive the Promise of eternal Inheritance, Heb. ix. 15. Which Words do imply more than a bare Mediation, moreover denoting that that Mediation would not be accepted, but only by the vicarious Suffering of the Mediator himself. And that we may not be mistaken in the true Sense of the Word Mediator, the Scripture, when it is mentioned, joyns something of Sacrifice, Propitiation, or vicarious Suffering. As Heb. xii. 34. to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel. And so 1 Tim. ii. 6. One Mediator between God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all. To avoid the force of these express Texts of Scripture, the Socinians pretend, that in Scripture Language a Mediator signifies an Interpreter, or one who makes known the Mind of one Person to another, and in this Sense Moses is called a Mediator, Gal. iii. 19. because he made known God's Will to the People of Israel, by his Mediation or Interposition. But this is a Modern Quirk invented by these Hereticks, which the Antients knew nothing of. For they understood the fore-mentioned Passages of Scripture, to denote Reconciliation or Satisfaction. Gregory Nyssen explaining the Sense of that Passage, 1 Tim. ii. 6. *One Mediator between, &c.* says *ὁλον ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα ἡ σκοπὸν τῆς μυστικῆς διὰ τὴν μυστικὴν λέξεως διαλαβὼν, ἀπεκάλυψε*: By the Word Mediator he understands the whole Series of the Mystery of our Redemption. Greg. Nyss. cont. Eunon. Lib. i. But long before him Irenaeus declares what was the Notion of a Mediator in his Time. *Ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ μεσίτην θεὸς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν πρὸς ἑκατέρους οἰκονομήσῃ, εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τὰς ἀποτέρας συναγαγῶν*. It was expedient there should be a Mediator between God and Men, that by partaking of both their Natures, he might reduce them both into Friendship and Concord. Iren. Lib. iii. cap. 10. To the same purport speaks S. Chrysostom. *Καθὰπερ δύο τινῶν ἀλλομαχία, &c.* As when two Persons are a fighting, one comes between them, and puts an end to the strife and difference; so did Christ do. God was angry with us, but we did not regard his anger, and slighted our kind Master, Christ threw himself (μεσὸν) as a Mediator brought us into Friendship with one another, and he himself bore the Punishment of the Father which was due to us. Chryl. Hom. de Ascens. (2.) Christ by his Death made a true and proper Satisfaction for our Sins, because he is so frequently in Scripture said to have redeemed us. The Apostle says his Death was for the Redemption of the Transgressions that were under the first Testament, that they which are called might receive the promise of eternal Inheritance. Heb. ix. 15. So again, For all have sinned, and come short of the Glory of God; being justified freely by his Grace through the Redemption that is in Jesus Christ; whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, Rom. iii. 23, 24, 25. And elsewhere, In whom we have Redemption through his Blood, the Forgiveness of Sins, according to the riches of his Grace, Eph. i. 7. So S. James, Forasmuch as ye know, that ye are not redeemed, with corruptible things as Silver and Gold—but with the precious Blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. The Greek Word which we translate Redemption is *ἀπολυτρώσις*; which signifies a Deliverance from a very sad and deplorable Condition, such as that of a Captive was before his Ransom was paid. Which Expression so frequently used by the Apostles in their Writings, was originally grounded on our Saviour's own Words. The Son of Man came to give his Life (λύτρον) a Ransom

for many, Mat. xx. 28. Mark x. 45. Therefore upon the whole, what tolerable Sense can be put upon these Words, but that our Souls being in an evil and lost Condition, like that of a Prisoner in Chains and doomed to Death, our Saviour paid down his own Blood as a λύτρον or Price of Ransom, to free us from this Misery? This the Antients took to be the Sense of these Passages. St. Basil has a noble Expression in treating upon that place of the Psalmist, No Man may deliver his Brother, nor make an Agreement unto God for him, he says, *Τὴν γὰρ δύναται ἀνθρώπου εὐεργετῆσαν ταλικύτον, ἵνα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν; Ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε ἐν ὁμῇ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνιδέον· ὁ ἐδόθη εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν, τὸ ἄγιον καὶ πολυτίμον αἷμα τὸ κυεῖν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξέχει πάντων. Διόπερ καὶ τιμὴς ἡγορεῖται*. What can a Man find any thing that is of sufficient value to pay down as a ransom for a Soul? Yes, there is found that which is of value enough to ransom all Mens Souls: that which was given as a price of our Redemption, the most precious Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he shed for us all. Bas. Hom. in Psal. xlviii. S. Austin understands the Redemption so frequently mention'd in Scripture, in the same Sense. *Tenebantur homines captivi sub Diabolo & Daemonibus serviebant, sed redempti sunt a captivitate. Vendere enim se potuerunt, sed redimere non potuerunt. Venit Redemptor & dedit pretium, fudit Sanguinem suum, & emit orbem terrarum. Queritis quid emerit? videte quid dederit, & invenite quid emerit. Sanguis Christi pretium est. Tanti quid valet? Quid nisi totus orbis? quid nisi omnes gentes? All Men once were held captive by the Devil, serving wicked Spirits: but now they are redeemed from their Captivity. They were able to sell themselves, but they were not able to redeem themselves. There comes a Redeemer, he pays down the Price, he pours out his Blood, and with it buys the whole World. Do you ask what he bought? see what he gave, and that will tell you what he bought. The price was the Blood of Christ. And what could come up to the value of that? What but the whole World? What but all Nations? Aug. Enar. in Psal. xcvi. Prudentius teaches the same Doctrine in Verse.*

*Jesus refulsit omnium
Pius Redemptor gentium, &c.
Felix Johannes mergere
Illum tremiscit flumine,
Potest suo qui sanguine
Peccata mundi tergere.*

*The conquering Jesus did appear
All Nations great Deliverer, &c.
The happy John all trembling stood
To plunge him into Jordan's Flood;
Who by his Blood a way would find
To cleanse the Sins of all Mankind.*

Hymn. in Epiph.

(3.) Christ by his Death truly satisfied From his Reconciliation. for our Sins, because the Scripture does imply this by so frequently asserting Christ's reconciling us to God; which does manifestly denote that God was displeased and angry with us before. Thus S. Paul. For when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the Death of his Son, Rom. v. 10. All things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given unto us the mystery of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the World unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. And (having made Peace thro' the blood of his Cross) by him to reconcile all things to himself, Col. i. 20. That he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, Eph. ii. 16. And that it may appear plainer, that this Reconciliation did imply an Anger; we may observe that in several Places of Scripture Christ is called a Propitiation, Rom. iii. 25, 1 John ii. 2. the original Words are *ἱλαστήριον ἱλασμοῦ*, which signify an appeasing of the Deity. For so the most antient Greek Authors use it.

*Ἐνθάδε μὲν ταύροις, καὶ ἀρνίοις ἱλάσσεται
Κυεῖν Ἀθηνάων*

*Th' Athenian Youth with Goats and Lambs appease
The Goddess —*

Hom. II. ii.

Therefore Hesychius explains *ἱλάσκειν* by *ἡμιέειν* to be made kind or favourable. The Socinians being pressed with the force of these plain Texts say, that God is not said to be reconciled to us, but we to God: but that is said for

for want of observing the use of the Words καταλλάττειν and διαλλάττειν in the New Testament, Mat. v. 24. 1 Cor. vii. 11. For the Greeks not having any reciprocal Conjugation answering to the Hebrew *Hishpaël*, are forced to use a passive Verb. So that when we are said to be reconciled to God, the Meaning is we are made reconciled, i. e. put in such a Condition that he is no longer Angry with us. For so the Word is used when the offending Person is bidden to be reconciled to his Brother, Mat. v. 24. and the Wife to be reconciled to her Husband, 1 Cor. vii. 11. whereas in our ordinary way of speaking, he that had born the Injury should be said to be reconciled to the other: and the Husband to the Wife.

From the Substitution of his Person in our stead. (4.) Christ truly made Satisfaction by his Death, Because he is so frequently in Scripture said to die for us, (i. e.) in our stead. Our English Word for is expressed by two Prepositions in the Greek, sometimes by ὑπέρ, sometimes by ἀντί. God spared not his own Son but delivered him up (ὑπέρ) for us all, Rom. viii. 32. In due time Christ died (ὑπέρ) for the ungodly, Rom. v. 6. Christ died once for Sins, the just (ὑπέρ) for the unjust, 1 Pet. iii. 18. That he by the grace of God should taste of Death, (ὑπέρ πάντων) for every Man, Heb. ii. 9. From which Expression it is clear that Christ died in our stead, and suffered Punishment for us, that we might escape it. For though the Preposition ὑπέρ sometimes has other Senses, yet when 'tis joyned with Verbs, which denote dying, suffering, &c. it signifies instead of. So ὁ νόμος ὑπέρ σεθεν, I die for you, Eurip. in Alcest. ἐράτῃσιν τέτυς, μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τὰ ὑπέρ σου ποίω. Ask these Persons, or otherways I will ask them, for you. Demost. pro Corona. Therefore the Socinians talk ridiculously, when they would have the Word for to signify by occasion of. But there are two Texts of Scripture denoting the same thing which are expressed by the Preposition ἀντί. Christ came to lay down his Life a Ransom (ἀντί πολλῶν) for many. Mat. xx. 28. Mark x. 45. But this Preposition, not only in profane Authors, but likewise in Scripture, always signifies instead of, 1 Pet. iii. 9. Rom. xii. 17. Mat. v. 38. Heb. xii. 16. And in this Sense the Antients always understood these Passages. Thus Justin Martyr, Ἐπεὶ ἔν τε καὶ αὐτὸς Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκ πάντων γένους ἀνθρώπων ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὅλων τὰς πάντων κατὰ τὰς ἀνάγκας ἐβουλήθη εἰσδᾶς ὅτι ἀναστήσει αὐτὸν σαυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα, &c. If therefore God the Father of all things was willing that his Christ should take upon him the Curses upon all human kind, knowing that he would raise him up after he was crucified and dead. Coll. cum Tryph. So Tertullian, Christum oportebat pro omnibus gentibus Sacrificium, qui tanquam ovis ad victimam ductus est, & velut agnus coram tendente, &c. It was requisite, that Christ should be a Sacrifice for all Nations, who went as a Sheep to the Slaughter, &c. Tert. adv. Jud. cap. 13. (5.) Christ's Death was a Satisfaction for our Sins, Because the Prophecies of his Death, do plainly denote a true Satisfaction, Expiation and vicarious Suffering. To mention only the famous Prophecy of the liii. of Isaiah. Though the modern Jews and the Socinians, do attribute this Prophecy to Jeremiah, contrary to the Tradition both of the Jewish and Christian Churches; yet the antienter Jews interpreted it of the Messiah. Jonathan in his Targum, explains the Words which begin the Prophecy, Behold my Servant shall deal prudently, Isa. liii. 13. Hou jatzliach Meshica. My Servant the Messiah shall prosper, &c. referring all that is said to the liv. Chapter, unto the Messiah. So do Rabbi Solomon, Bereshith Rabba, and the Midrash upon Ruth; as may be seen at large in Ramundus Martinus. Pug. Fid. P. iii. Disp. 3. cap. 10. Now can any thing express a Satisfaction, or vicarious Punishment more fully than this Prophecy? Christ is there described, as one that has born our Grievs and carried our Sorrows, Is. liii. 4. as wounded for our Transgressions, bruised for our Iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him: with his stripes we are healed, v. 5. It is there said that the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all, v. 6. that for the transgression of my people was he stricken, v. 8. that he should make his Soul an Offering for Sin, v. 10. that he should justify many and bear their iniquities, v. 11. Now if this be a Prophecy of Christ, as no good Christian ever doubted of it; there is such undeniable Evidence of Christ's Satisfaction, that a reasonable Man need not require more: The force of this Prophecy, and the fulfilling thereof in Christ, is excellently well set out by Eusebius. Καὶ καθ' ὃ πάχοντο ἡμῶν, &c.

From the Prophecies concerning him.

For as much as when one Member suffers all the Members suffer with it, so many Members suffering and sinning, Christ according to the Laws of Sympathy (because being the Word of God it pleased him to take upon him the form of a Servant and to dwell in one of our Tabernacles) took the Grievs of the suffering Members upon himself, made our Infirmities his own, for our sakes to endure Cold and Labour, according to the Conditions of Humanity. Nor did this Lamb of God only do this, but he suffered and underwent Torment for our sakes, which he did not deserve, but was the occasion that our Sins, for the multitude of Offenders, were pardoned: who underwent Death for our sakes, and Scourgings and Reproaches; taking to himself those Disgraces which we had merited, was made a Curse for us, and drew upon himself the Curse which was due to us. For what was he else but our ἀντίλυτρον, the price of our Lives? Therefore the Prophecy speaks this in our Names, By his Stripes we are healed, The Lord hath laid upon the Iniquities of us all. Euseb. Demon. Evan. Lib. x. c. 1. (6.) Christ made a true Satisfaction for our Sins, Because the Sacrifices of the Old Testament which were truly expiatory were but Types which did prefigure his Passion, and received their force and efficacy from that. There is no doubt to be made but, that the Sacrifices of the Old Law were to atone for the Sins of those who had trespassed or offended, Lev. Cap. v. and Cap. vi. Because it is frequently said that the Priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord, and his Sin shall be forgiven him. And it is as plain that the Scripture does as expressly declare, that the Death of Christ was prefigured by the Sacrifices of the Old Testament. Almost the whole Epistle to the Hebrews is a Proof of this Assertion. But particularly it is declared, that the Law was but a shadow of good things, and not the very Image of things, Heb. x. 1. They are said to be Patterns of heavenly things, which are purified with better Sacrifices (i. e.) the Blood of Christ, Heb. ix. 24. The old Law is said to be a shadow of things to come whose Body is Christ, Col. ii. 17. And whereas the Sacrifices of the Old Testament are said to derive their force and efficacy from the great Sacrifice of Christ, Dan. ix. 27. Heb. vii. 9, 10. undoubtedly the Sacrifice of Christ, which was not only prefigured and represented by these but gave them their Expiatory force, by the Relation they had to their Antitype; this I say must undoubtedly it self have the Nature of a true and proper Expiation or Satisfaction.

III. The Satisfaction of Christ was not only true, but was likewise most perfect. And this, (1.) Because of the unspotted Holiness and the Infinite Dignity of the Person who suffered. For both these are requisite for rendring a Mediator between God and Man compleat. For it is not to be supposed that one Sinner should be a Redeemer to another, who stands in need of a Redeemer himself. Which is a Reason several times assigned in Scripture. For he hath made him who knew no Sin to be Sin for us, 2 Cor. v. 21. So Heb. vii. 26. For such an high Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from Sinners. But besides this Innocency, for the Perfection of a Mediator it is requisite, that he should be of an Infinite Dignity likewise; the Infinite Merits of whom should counterbalance the Infinite Demerits of Sin. Now our Saviour being God as well as Man, his Infinite Dignity has made his Satisfaction in the highest Degree perfect. Whereupon S. Basil thus expresses himself. Εὐρεθὲν ἐν ὁμαῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἐδόθη εἰς τιμὴν λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πολύτιμον αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. There was one Sacrifice found, which was beyond all others, that was given for the Redemption of our Souls, and that was the holy and precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Hom. in Psal. xlviii. (2.) The Satisfaction of Christ is most perfect, Because of the Unity of it. The Apostle lays great stress upon this to prove the Excellence and Perfection of the Sacrifice of Christ's Death. For having shewn the Imperfection of the Jewish Sacrifices from the necessity of their being so frequently repeated, Every Priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes, the same Sacrifices which can never take away Sin. But this Man after he had offered ONE Sacrifice for Sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God. For by ONE offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, Heb. x. 11, 12, 13.

Because the Types which prefigured him were expiatory.

The Satisfaction of Christ was most perfect.

ARTICLE III.

III. Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died and was buried for us, so also it is to be believed, that he went down into Hell; for the Body lay in the Sepulchre until the Resurrection, but his Ghost departing from him, was with the Ghosts that were in Prison or in Hell, and did Preach to the same, as the Place of St. Peter doth testify.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us and was buried, * so also ^a it is to be believed, that he ^b went down into Hell. †

* So also is it to be believed. MSS. CCCC 1571.
† For his Body lay in the Grave till the Resurrection; but his Soul being separate from his Body remained with the Spirits which were detained in Prison, that is to say in Hell, and there preached unto them. MSS. CCC. 1562. scored with Minium, but numbered.

^a It is to be believed.] This Article is added, because it is a part of the Creed, though it must be owned it came but late into it. For till near 400 Years after Christ, it was not looked upon as an Article of Baptifmal Faith, which every Catechumen was obliged to assent unto, before he was admitted to Baptifm, but only as a Point of Orthodox Belief, which all good Christians believed as being grounded on Scripture and Catholick Tradition. There is nothing of it to be found in the antient Rules of Faith mentioned by *Irenæus*, Lib. i. cap. 2. or by *Tertullian*, adv. Prax. de Prescr. cap. 13. Nor in any of the Confessions of Faith set forth by the Four first general Councils, nor in *S. Cyril's*, or *S. Austin's* Expositions of the Creed. The first time we meet with it is in the Creed of *Aquileia*, which *Ruffinus* commented upon: who says, *nos illum ordinem sequemur, quam in Aquiliensi Ecclesia per Lavacri gratiam suscepimus: We follow that Confession of Faith which we were baptized into, in the Church of Aquileia.* *Ruff. Exp. Symb.* But *Ruffinus* there owns, *quod in Ecclesie Romano Symbolo non habetur additum, Descendit ad inferna: sed neque in Orientis Ecclesie habetur hic sermo. That this Clause, He descended into Hell, was not in the Creed of Rome, nor in the Churches of the East.* *ibid.* Whether it was in any other Creeds, and how long it had been used in the Church of *Aquileia*, is a matter uncertain. About the sixth Century it was taken into many Creeds, and established by the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, A. D. 633.

^b Went down into Hell.] For the better Understanding what we are obliged to profess by these Words, it will not be unnecessary to observe these following Particulars. 1. That by the Word *Hell*, by which we render the Greek *Ades*, is meant the place of Receptacle of Souls in the State of Separation. This cannot be denied by any, who have but the least Taste of the Greek Tongue. For there is no Sense to be made of this Word in most of the Antients, if it were restrained to signifie a Place of Torments, as in that of *Pindar*.

Τοιαῖσιν οργαῖς ἔυχεται
Ἀντιάδας αἰδαν, γυν-
εὺς τε δὲ ξανθὸν πολιδν
ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς—

In this Degree of Happiness
The Son of Cleonicus
Does wish to go to Hades,
Or in the same t' arrive at
A venerable old Age—

Pind. Iff. Od. 8.

Now we cannot suppose any one in his Senses to wish for Hell's Torments. Or when the Poet declares his Opinion, that that Person is Happy,

Φῦτα δ' ὅπως ἄλιστα πύλας αἰδαν περῆσαι
καὶ κῆρ πολὺν γῆν ἐταμυσάμενον.

Who soon as born into the World, arrives
At Hades Gates, and under Ground does lie
Deep in the Earth—

Theogn. Eleg.

III. De descensu Christi ad Inferos.

Quemadmodum Christus pro nobis mortuus est, & sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad Inferos descendisse.

But to be Happy in a State of Misery is wholly inconsistent. This Consideration has led several into an Opinion, that the Word *Ades* does always denote the general State of the Dead, whether they be in Misery or in Torment. Though perhaps some Passages of the Antients may be brought to Countenance that Opinion, yet I think this Notion, however common, is not altogether so well grounded. For I take the exact Notion which the Antients had of *Hades* was, that it was a Place or Receptacle of the ordinary Souls of the departed, which were neither remarkably Ill, nor distinguishably Good. Those who were very Pious and Good, were supposed to be instated in *Elysium*, according to the Notions of the Heathen Theology, upon which they formed their Speech; and those that were very Bad were supposed to be doomed to *Tartarus*; both which Places were distinguished from the *Hades*, or the ordinary Receptacle of Souls. *Homer* is the most antient Author extant who mentions the *Hades*, but he makes *Tartarus*, or the Place where wicked Persons were Punished, to be widely different from *Hades*, as appears by these Verses.

Ἡ δ' ἐλάν ρίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρώεντα
Τῆλε μάλ' ἤχι βάθισον ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐνὶ ἑρέθων
Ἐνθα σιδνηταὶ τε πύλαι καὶ χαλκοῦ ἐσθῆς
Τόσσον ἔνεσθ' αἰδέω ὅσον ἕρνος ἐς' ἀπὸ γαίης.

I'll throw him down into dark Tartarus,
Which is a Pit far off and vastly deep,
The Gates whereof are Iron, the Pavement Brass,
Deep below HADES, as Heav'n than Earth is higher.
Hom. Iliad. viii.

He may be thought in his *Odyssey*, to have made *Tartarus* a Part of *HADES*, when he makes *Ulysses* going thither to have a view thereof: but

Ἰκέσθαι
Ἐἰς Αἰδαν δόμος—

is not to go to *Hades*, but to the Regions of *Pluto*, under whose Dominions both *Elysium* and *Tartarus* were contained. *Hesiod* likewise sets *Tartarus* at a vast Distance from *Hades*.

Τόσσον ἔνεσθ' ἀπὸ γῆς ὅσον ἕρνος ἐς' ἀπὸ γαίης
Ἴσον γὰρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρώεντα.

As far as Earth from Heaven distant is,
So far from Earth is the Dark Tartarus.

But to leave the Poets, we find that *Plato*, who had as just Notions as any one of the Heathen Theology, did not allow all the Places or States of the departed Souls to be contained under *Hades*; as appears by this remarkable Passage in his Tenth Book of Laws. μεταβάλλει δ' τοῖνον πανθ' ὅσα μετοχὰς εἰσι ψυχῆς, &c. All things that have a Soul

Soul are changeable; they having the cause of Change in themselves: and being changeable are disposed of according to the Laws of Fate. Those that have committed but small Offences, wander about in a Region near the superficies of the Earth; others that have been greater Sinners sink in to a more inferior Region (ὅσα ἈΔΗΝ ΤΕ Χ' ΤΑ ΤΕΤΩΝ ΕΥΘΥΣ-
va ἢ ὀνομαζομένων ἑπονομαζόμενοι) which we call HADES or some such like Name, there they do, as they did when they were joyned with Bodies, dream and fear. But when a Soul is arrived at a greater pitch of Virtue or Vice: when by a settled habit it adheres to divine Virtue, and is framed according to that, then it is translated to a better Place: but when it is contrarily affected it is carried to live in a contrary Place: So that according to him, HADES belongs neither to the very Good nor to the very Bad Souls, but to those of a middle Nature. The Latins wanted a Word to express the Greek Ἀδης; therefore they called Hades, Elysium, Tartarus, and all by the Name of Inferi, (i.e.) the People below. But Virgil in describing the Place follows the Opinions of the Heathen Theology, which he had from the Greeks, and distinguishes the Place of Punishment from the common Hades. That was the Hades, properly so called, in which he saw Dido, Deiphobus, &c. But having carried his Hero over that, he next comes to describe the two other Places, one of Punishment, the other of Happiness; and then he thus expresses himself.

Hic locus est, partes, ubi se via findit in ambas,
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mania tendit,
Hæc iter Elysium nobis: at læva malorum
Exercet penas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.

— Here is a Place where two ways meet,
The right hand leads unto great Pluto's Palace
And to Elysium: on the left are Punish'd
The Bad, and a Road leads to Tartarus.

Virg. Æneid. Lib. vi.

But it must be observed, that, tho' Persons in the ordinary Hades, or that Repository of common Souls, which were neither remarkably Good nor Bad, shared neither Reward nor Punishment, yet it was generally looked on but as a Place of uncomfortable Condition, and less desirable than this World. On this account Homer makes the Ghost of Tiresias thus to bespeak Ulysses, when he saw him Voluntarily come into the infernal Regions.

Τίπτ' αὐτ', ὦ δούση, λατὼν φάος ἡέλιου
ἥλυθες ὄρεα ἰδὼς νέκυας χ' ἀτέρπεια χῶρον.

Unhappy Man! to leave the Sun's clear Light
To see us Ghosts, and th' undelightful Regions:
Hom. Odys. Lib. xi.

And by the Latin Poets this is frequently called *Ripæ horrendæ*, the frightful Banks: and *Tristia Regna*, the Melancholy Kingdoms. Virg. Æn. Lib. vi.

The Jews seem to have had a not very different Notion of the Hades from the Heathen. The Word which they had to answer to Hades was Sheol. This Word though it does in several Places signify the Grave, yet in many others it signifies either a state of the Dead, or a subterraneous Repository of separate Souls. The first time we meet with the Word, is in the xxxvii. of Genesis, I will go down into Sheol (Gr. Hades) unto my Son, mourning. Indeed we translate it, I will go down into the Grave unto my Son mourning, Gen. xxxvii. 34. But Jacob could not resolve upon that, because he supposed his Son had no Grave, as thinking him torn in Pieces: and on the other side he could not take Sheol for a Place of Torment, for that would deter any one from resolving to go thither. Therefore 'tis probable he used that Word to signify the Repository of ordinary Souls after Departure. There are several other Places which do manifestly denote a Local Hades, under Ground. As that of Job. High as Heaven what canst thou do? deeper than Hell (Heb. Sheol. Greek Hades) what canst thou know? Job xi. 8. So in that of the Psalms, If I ascend up into Heaven thou art there: if I make my bed in (Sheol) Hell thou art there, Psal. cxxxix. 7. In both which Places, Hell, supposed to be the lowest part of the Earth, is opposed to Heaven above. So Amos ix. 2. Though they dig unto Hell thence shall my hand take them, Am. ix. 2. All which are Allusions to a Local Hell, supposed to be deep under Ground.

Nay 'tis not improbable, that the antient Jews had a Notion of a twofold Sheol or Hades, as the Greeks had, of a Hades, and a Tartarus. For that of the Psalmist, Thou hast delivered my Soul (Heb. mesheol tachesijab) Gr. ἐξ ἁδου Κατωτάτω) from the lowest Hell; does suppose a difference between an Upper and a Lower Hell. This S. Austin long ago remarked, *Dicit Scriptura cui contradici non potest, Eruiit meam animam ex inferno inferiori, intelligimus tanquam duo inferna esse, superius & inferius. Etenim, Fratres, propter duo ista inferna, missus est Filius Dei undique liberans. Ad hoc infernum missus est nascendo, illud moriendo, &c.* The Holy Scripture, which must not be contradicted, says, Thou hast delivered my Soul from the lowest Hell, we understand it as if there were two Hells, an Upper and a Lower; to both of which Christ was sent a Deliverer, to the one by being born, to the other by dying. Aug. in Psal. lxxxv. He by too fanciful a Gloss, here, makes the Earth to be the Upper Hell: but 'tis most probable it is an Allusion to the Distinction of the subterraneous World into the common Hades the Repository of ordinary Souls, and the Tartarus or the Place of Punishment for wicked Spirits. The Jews of the latter times, seem to have held two distinct Places of the infernal Regions; one ordinary and common Hades, the other subject to Torment and Misery. For thus the Son of Syrach speaks of the ordinary Hades, with relation to the Person whom Elijah raised up from the dead. O Elias, &c, who didst raise up a dead Man from death, and his Soul from the place of the Dead (ἐξ ἁδου) by the Word of the most high. Ecclus. xlviii. 5. But the Hell of Torment we find thus described; under the Character of a Sinner prick'd in Conscience, in Consideration of what he is to suffer hereafter. Sleep came upon them out of the bottoms of inevitable Hell (Hades.) Wisd. xviii. 14. Whosoever there fell down was straitly kept, shut up in a prison without Iron Bars. v. 16. were all bound with one chain of darkness. v. 17. Over them was spread an heavy night, an image of that darkness which should afterwards receive, v. 21. Contrary whereunto is the Condition of Good Men. But the Souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no Torment touch them; Wisd. iii. 1.

To come to the Writers of the New Testament, it must be confessed that the Word Ἀδης is hardly ever used but for the Hell of Torment. It is used four times in the Revelations, Rev. i. 12.

vi. 8. xx. 13. xx. 14. in the three first of which is understood the Place or State of the damned; and possibly in the last likewise. It is used but three times in the Gospels, and in all the Places the Hell of the damned is understood. The first is Mat. vii. 23. And thou Capernaum, which art exalted unto Heaven, shalt be brought down to (Hades) Hell. Where the highest Heaven is opposed to the lowest Hell; the one the Seat of the Blessed, the other of the Damned. The next Place where this Word is found is Mar. xvi. 18. Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of (Hades) Hell shall not prevail against it: That is the Power of the Devils who are doomed to Hell. The last Place is Luke xvi. 23. The rich Man in (Hades) Hell lift up his Eyes being in Torments: which cannot be any other Hades than the Place of the damned. All the Question is concerning the Meaning of that Text, on which this Article is chiefly grounded, David seeing this before spake of the Resurrection of Christ that his Soul was not left (ἐν ἁδου) in Hell, Acts ii. 31.

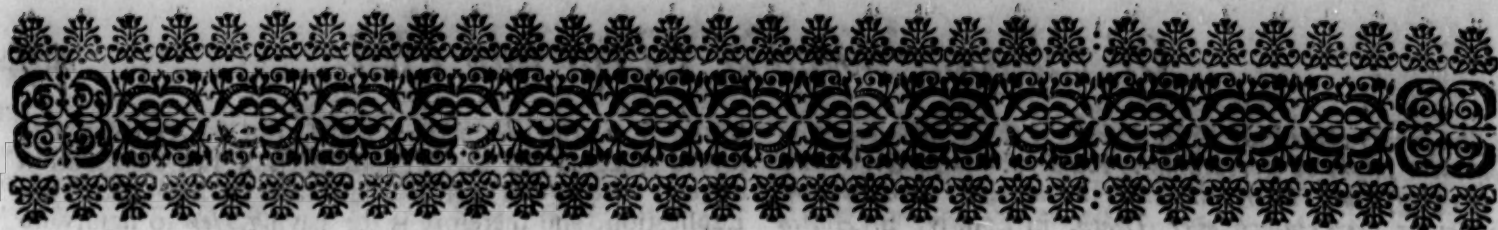
That we may the better come at the Meaning of this Word, it will be requisite to know what Sense the modern Jews had of the Word Sheol, which is used in that Passage of the Psalms, which this Text alludes to. It is plain that the Jewish Writers have generally understood by Sheol the Hell of Torment by their adapting the Names of the Gates of Hell from several Passages of Scripture, where Sheol is mentioned. As the Gate in the Desert, where Corah, Dathan and Abiram descended, because they are said to have gone down alive into Sheol, Num. xvi. 33. The Gate of the Sea, through which Jonah was supposed to have passed, when he cried unto God out of the Belly of (Sheol) Hell, Jon. ii. 2. It is manifest likewise that the Jewish Rabbies do ascribe to their Hell positive Torments; though they do, in their way, mix much Fancy therein. In their most antient Book Zoar, the Torments of Hell consist in a vicissitude of intollerable Heat and Cold, Buxtorf. Lex. in voce גֵּהֶנֶם which Opinion seems to have obtained among them before S. Jerom's time: for in his Comment on Mat. x. he says (most probably

descends into the Heart of the Earth, that the shewing himself there might be a preaching to the dead. — And the third day rising again, before all others he ascended into Heaven, displaying his Triumph over Death. in Eph. iv. S. Austin says plainly, *Christi animam venisse usque ad ea loca, in quibus peccatores cruciantur, ut eos solveret a tormentis quos esse solvendo occultis nobis sua justitia judicabat, non immerito credimus.* We do on good grounds believe, that Christ's Soul came even to those Places, where Sinners are tormented; that he might free those from their Torments, whom his hidden Justice had decreed should be freed. Aug. xii. Gen. ad cit. So Cassian. *Christus inferna penetrans, inextricabiles Tartari tenebras coruscatione sui splendoris extinxit, portasque ejus ferreas effringens, ac seras ferreas conterens, captivitatem sanctorum, quae clausa tenebris immitis tenebatur inferni salubriter captam transvexit secum ad caelos.* Christ going to Hell put out the inextricable darkness of Tartarus by his light, he breaking the brazen Gates, splintering the Iron Bars, and spoiling the Locks, brought away the Captive Saints from Hell to Heaven. Cass. de Inst. Canob. Lib. iii. The same Doctrine was taught by Fulgentius. *Restabat tamen ad plenum nostrae Redemptionis effectum, ut illuc utque homo sine peccato a Deo peccati merito cecidisset, id est ad infernum, ubi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, &c.* There remained yet for the finishing our Redemption, that the Man without Sin should go as deep, as Man separated from God by Sin had fallen, i. e. to Hell, where Sinners Souls are tormented. Fulgent. Lib. iii. ad Trasimund.

In the Seventh Century some new Notions were vented by Divines, concerning the different Degrees of Punishment in Hell; and different Receptacles assigned to Souls, according to their different Deserts; the higher of which, that were only attended with the Punishment of Loss, or privation of eternal Happiness, were assigned to the Fathers that were there before Christ's Descent. For thus Pope Gregory writes. *Esse superiora inferni loca, esse alia inferiora credenda sunt: ut & in superioribus iusti requiescerent, & inferioribus iniusti cruciarentur.* It must be believed, that there are some Places of Hell higher and other lower: so that the just did rest in the higher, and the wicked were punished in the lower. Greg. Expof. Mor. Lib. xii. cap. 6. Upon the ground of this Divinity, Hell was supposed to be marked out into several Circles, at a nigher or remoter Distance from the Central Fire. The nearest was the Place of Devils and damned Spirits, and the most remote was presumed to be the Place of the good Souls which had departed before the coming of Christ. The Spaces or Rooms between these Circles were called *Limbi* or Borders; and the outward Border or Receptacle was called *Limbus Patrum*. This Name seems to have been common enough in the time of Anselm, from this Expression of his, *Tunc magnum fuit gaudium factum in Limbo, quando anima Christi in ipsum descendit, & patres inde liberavit, & Limbum destruxit.* Then there was great joy in Limbus, when the Soul of Christ descended thither, and delivered the Fathers, and destroyed that Limbus. Ansel. de Pass. Dom. Lucas Tudenfis, a Writer of the Twelfth Century, calls them *Olla inferni*; the several Pots of Hell; and, *Quod ignis putei inferni inferioris causa sit incendii superioris inferni — ut non absone diversa judicentur diversarum ollarum incendia infernalium; That the higher parts of Hell were heated by the Fire of the lower — so that the Heats of the several Pots of Hell may be truly said to be different.* Bibl. Patr. Mag. Tom. iv. par. ii. p. 360. and then divides the Place into the Seat of the Damned, Purgatory, the Place for unbaptized Infants and the *Limbus* of the Fathers. *ibid.* p. 631. What other Niceties the Schoolmen added to this Infernal Geography, is needless to relate.

At the time of the Reformation, those who took in Hand the rectifying the Abuses of Religion, very justly laid aside these Notions which had been taken up by the Divines of the middle Ages, and particularly the Doctrine of Purgatory, which had been the occasion of so great Scandals in the Church. But still they all retained the Catholick Doctrine of Christ's Descent into Hell; though it must be confessed there was less Agreement among them than might be expected in a matter of this Nature. Mr. Calvin invented a new Explication of this Article, making Christ's descending into Hell to be the bearing *diros in anima cruciatus damnati & periti hominis*, during his Agony and suffering on the Cross, *Inst.* Lib. ii. c. 16. Sect. 10. that was the *formidabilis Abyssus*,

sentire se a Deo derelictum. *ibid.* But the Novelty and forced Allegory of this Exposition is a full Confutation thereof. Beza was not satisfied with his Master Calvin's Explication, and therefore is for having Hell to signify no more than the Grave; and for this Reason in the first Edition of his Testament, translated the famous Text *Non derelinques cadaver meum in sepulchro.* Peter Martyr maintained a different Opinion from both. For he took *HADES* to denote the common State of the dead, both good, and bad; allowing that Christ notified his Redemption to the most wicked Spirits even in the Place of Torment. *Descendit ad inferos nihil aliud indicat, nisi quod eundem subiit statum, quem reliquae animae a Corpore sejunctae experiuntur, quae aut in sanctorum societatem cooptantur, aut cum damnatorum spiritibus in aeternum exilium detruduntur.* He descended into Hell, denotes nothing else, but that he underwent the same State, which other Souls departed from the Body experience, which either are joined to the Society of Saints, or else are thrust down into Hell, Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. Class. ii. c. 18. Nay, he owned his going to the Regions of the damned to Preach to them, grounding this upon the famous Passage of S. Peter, *Alii etiam Spiritus, aeternae damnationi addicti, animae Christi adventum persenserunt.* Nam, ut habetur apud Pet. i Ep. cap. iii. *Illis spiritus Christi praedicavit: quod eo sensu potest intelligi, nempe ut iis exprobraret obstinationem atque incredulitatem, qua obdurati essent, adversus Dei verbum, sanctasque admonitiones, quae illis dum viverent, subinde fuerint propositae: vel quod hunc etiam iis, verbum illud salutiferum, idemque verissimum annuntiavit: quod cum semper similes pertinaciter rejicerent, eandemque mortui quam vivi incredulitatem retinerent, justissima suae condemnationis aptissimum sibi in seipsos testimonium reddidere, maxime cum nullam amplius ignorantiam possent praetexere.* Other Spirits being doomed to eternal Damnation, were sensible of Christ's coming. For as it is written in the first Epistle of S. Peter, cap. iii. *The Spirit of Christ preached unto them; which may be understood in this Sense, viz. that he might thereby upbraid their Obstinacy and Incredulity, with which they were hardened against the Word of God and his holy Admonitions, which, whilst they were alive, were proposed to them; which when they being always like themselves had pertinaciously rejected, and retained the same Unbelief, as well dead as alive, they gave a most ample testimony of their Condemnation against themselves, especially when they could no longer pretend Ignorance.* *ibid.* It is generally, and not without probability, said that Peter Martyr had no small share in drawing up King Edward VI. Articles: and that may be one Reason, why that Text of S. Peter was cited in this third Article as Explanatory of the End of Christ's Descent into Hell, according to the Opinion of Peter Martyr, who therein plainly differed from some other of the Reformed Divines with whom in most other Points he agreed. At the Review of the Articles 1562. this Clause was expunged; either because it might be thought by some to give a handle to the Popish Doctrines of Purgatory and Limbus; or because some of the Divines being long abroad had imbibed Mr. Calvin's Notion of suffering Hell Torments upon the Cross; or because the Members of the Convocation had different Notions of this Point, and therefore they chose to express it only in such general Terms as all of them might subscribe to. It should seem to me that Mr. Calvin's Notion did pretty much prevail then; tho' it was never the general Opinion of the Clergy of this Nation, who always took the Liberty the Article gave them of maintaining a Local or Virtual Descent, as a Theological Point, according to their own Judgment. For Mr. Rogers, who wrote his Exposition upon the Articles near the middle of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, says, in the Interpretation of this Article there is not that Consent as were to be wished. And it otherways appears there was not; by that remarkable Relation set down by Bishop Mountague in his Apparatus. The Substance whereof is this. In the Month of July 1559. one Mr. Howse of Queen's College keeping an Act, under Dr. Overall the Regius Professor, the Respondent maintaining that Christ did not descend to the Seat of the damned, opened his Thesis so, as to explain Christ's Descent into Hell to be an Ascent into Heaven to the Souls of the Patriarchs. The Professor, at that Disputation, declared his Judgment, That it was a thing uncertain, whether the Souls of the Just, who died before Christ, were in Heaven or no; That there was no Constar for this Opinion in Scripture, and That any Dispute thereof was more curious than necessary. Some zealous Calvinists of the University hearing of this, and thinking that by a side Wind it bore against some of their Systematical Doctrines, raised a great Noise thereupon, giving out



ARTICLE IV.

IV. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from Death; and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did * truly * rise again from Death, and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones and all things, appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature,

IV. De Resurrectione Christi.

Christus verè a mortuis resurrexit, sumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humane nature pertinentibus, rece-

* Arise again, MS. CCCC. 1571.

out that the Professor had maintained publicly the Popish Limbus. The Professor explained himself more fully in several following Disputations, shewing the antient Doctrine of the Catholick Fathers in this Point, and withal the Novelty of the Romish Doctrine. The Calvinists were so far from being satisfied therewith, that they would bring on the same Question again next Year at the publick Commencement; though the Professor pressed hard that it might be laid aside, as an uncertain and useless Question. But their Importunity and Violence carried it, that the Question should be again disputed. In the Dispute Dr. Overall was scandalously reflected upon, by one Playser the Margaret Professor, as an Abettor of Popery, and one ignorant or prevaricating in the chief Articles of Faith, that this Doctrine with its Author ought to be banished out of the University. Soon after the learned Professor drew up an incomparable State of this Question, the Substance whereof is contained in the *Apparatus* from p. 51. to p. 75. The same Doctrine being maintained more than twenty Years afterwards, by Mr. Mountague in his *Gagg*, and his *Appello Casarem*, he was furiously fallen upon by Mr. Yates in his *Ibis ad Casarem*, and by other Puritans. Dr. Hammond some Years afterwards publishing his Practical Catechism, avoiding all Disputes concerning the Ends of Christ's Descent, explained the Word *Hell* by the common State or Place of the Dead, so that in a few Years his Opinion gaining much Ground, Bishop Pearson, in his Exposition of the Creed, followed Dr. Hammond therein; and these Books being in the Hands of most of our Clergy has made this Opinion now to be almost universally received in our Church. I have kept my self, in my Notes upon this Article, from closing with any Opinion, giving only an Historical Relation of the different Doctrines, which in the several Ages have been delivered, concerning it; for since the Church, for wise Reasons, has left the Sense of the Article undetermined, I must not pretend to fix any particular Sense upon it.

a Truly Rise.] This being an Assertion of our Saviour's Resurrection, for the explaining thereof it will be necessary, to shew,

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Predictions concerning Christ's Resurrection.

I. It was predicted that our Saviour should rise again from the dead. There is an eminent Prophecie of this in the second Psalm, which is not only allowed by the Christians to be a Prophecie of the Messiah, but was reckoned to be the same also by the antient Jews. Rabbi Solomon Jarchi fairly Confesses, *Our Doctors explained this Psalm of King Messiah, but the better to manage the Controversy with the Mimnim, i.e. the Christians, it is better to interpret it of David.* In which Psalm it is prophesied

concerning the Messiah, *Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee*; by which Passage is foretold his Resurrection, which is the beginning as it were of another Life, the Grave being the Womb in which for some time he had been inclosed. Another Prophecie concerning our Saviour's Resurrection is in the sixteenth Psalm. *My flesh shall rest in hope, for thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption*, Psal. xvi. 10. Which Passage S. Peter argues cannot belong to David, but must be understood as the Jews generally interpreted of Christ, or the Messiah. As for the Patriarch David, he is both dead and buried, &c. therefore being a Prophet and knowing that God had sworn an Oath to him, that of the fruit of his Loyns, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit upon his Throne; he seeing this before, spake of the Resurrection of Christ, that his Soul was not left in Hell, neither his flesh did see Corruption. Acts ii. 31. The same was prefigured by the Sacrifice which Abraham, according to the divine Command, intended to make of his Son Isaac: which the Apostle intimates in these Words, *accounting that God was able to raise him up from the dead, from whence also he received him in a figure*, Heb. xi. 19. This the Antients generally make a Type of our Saviour's Resurrection. For thus Gregory Nyssen. *Οὗτος ὁ δὲ ἀγίος πνεῦμα τὸ μυστήριον τυπικῶς ἀποδείξας ἐμπνεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, τὸ τὴν ἡγιασμένην ψὴν ἐν τῷ ταφιδεῖ ὄντι περὶ βατῶν, ὥστε δαχθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ βατῶν τὸ τὸ θανάτου μυστήριον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ μονογενὲς καὶ ζῶν. καὶ μὴ διακοπῆσθαι τὸ θανάτου.* Thus the holy Spirit does Typically divide a great Mystery, both by the beloved Son and the Beast that was prepared: by the Beast is signified Death, and by the beloved Son Life not cut off by Death, Greg. Nyss. Or. i. in Resur. And so Prosper. *Ideo Isaac immolatus non est, quia resurrectio Filio servata est. Therefore Isaac was not sacrificed, because the Resurrection was reserved for Christ.* Prosper de Prom. &c.

II. There is the most certain Evidence of the Truth of our Saviour's Resurrection.

Truth of Christ's Resurrection.

1. And for this we have as good Testimony as any reasonable Man can expect, for the Proof of a matter of fact of this Nature. (1.) For we have an Historical Relation of it, containing all the remarkable Circumstances relating to it, in Books written immediately after the time when that Fact happened, by those who were either Eye-witnesses of the same, or constantly conversed with those that were; I mean the History of the Gospels. Where it is related, that he appeared to the pious Women who came to anoint his Body, *Mat. xviii. 1.* to the Disciples going to *Emaus*, *Luke xxiv. 13.* to *Peter*, *Luke xxiv. 34.* to the eleven, *Luke xxiv. 36.* at the fishing, *John xxi. 4.* to the five hundred Brethren, *1 Cor. xv. 6.* (2.) Next we have the Testimony of the Apostles themselves, who were in every respect

This proved from the Testimony, 1. Of the Holy Scriptures.

2. Of the Apostles.

respect

ipeet very well qualified to witness what they related. They were undoubtedly very pious and good Men. It was a principal Part of their Doctrine to exhort Men to Truth and Fidelity, Eph. iv. 25. Rom. ix. 1. 2 Cor. vii. 19. xi. 31. Gal. i. 20. Col. iii. 9. 1 Tim. i. 10. Mat. xii. 26. John viii. 44. They made it their Business to persuade Men to lead good and holy Lives, to leave off Idolatry, not to put their Trust in outward and ceremonious Actions; being themselves never taxed with Vice and Wickedness, but remarkable for Devotion, Mortification and Self-denial. Now this is a Character, which is wont in all other Matters to enforce Belief. And 'tis not so incredible, upon their Testimony, to think that our Saviour rose from the Dead, as to think such honest and good Men should all of a sudden turn Cheats and Impostors. Besides the Relators of this matter of Fact were plain and simple Men, not used to the Arts of Prevarication and Sophistry, nor capable of making a Falshood appear with the specious Colours of Truth; and therefore their Testimony is the more to be credited, since it is not to be suspected that they could ever relate an Action with such an Air of Verisimilitude and Truth if it had not been really what they reported it. *Origen* speaks very well upon this Head, tho' with particular Regard to the Apostolical Writings. Οἱμαὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ το βιβλικῶς διδασκαλοῦν τὸ δόγματ' ἡρώδης τοῦ πλάτου, ἵνα μηδὲν μὲν ἔχῃ χάραν ὑπὸν ὁ πῶν σφοδρῶς λαμπρῶς δὲ τοῖς συνιέναι δυναμένοις ἐμφαίνονται, ὅτι τὸ ἄδολον ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφοντων, ἐχέουσιν πολὺ τὸ (ἢ ἄλλως ὀνομάσω) ἀρετῆς. ἡξιώθη θεοτόκος δυνάμειος, πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἀνύσσης, ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ δυνάμειος δοκῇ περιβολὴ λόγων, καὶ λέξων σύνθεσις, καὶ μετὰ διακρίσεων καὶ τεχνολογίας ἑλληνικῆς ἀκολουθία. 'Tis my Opinion, that our Saviour chose such plain Men to be the Propagators of his Doctrines, that Men might have no suspicion that they were imposed upon by the Sophistry of Men who had been educated in the Arts of Persuasion: but that it might be plainly understood, that no Deceit could be hid under such a Plainness (if I may so call it) of the Writers, which with the assistance of the divine Spirit, was more efficacious, than any fine Composition of Words or Ornaments of Speech, Partition or Method, or any other part of the Grecian Institution. *Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. iii.* Lastly, for the sake of this Testimony, they not only forfeited all the Advantages and Expectations of the World, but they exposed themselves to continual Persecutions and Sufferings, and even to Death it self. For thus *Origen*. Οἱμαὶ γὰρ ὅτι ὁ ἐυγνωμόνας ἑταῖζων πρᾶγματα ἐκ ἀν' ἀλέως τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδεδοκέναι περιστάσει βίῳ, ἐνεκεν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίας, χωρεῖς τιν' ἢ μεγάλης πειθῆς, ἢ ἐνέπαισιν αὐτοῖς, διδασκῶν καὶ μόνον διακρίσει καὶ τὰ μαθήματα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλης διακρίσεως περὶ τῆς ὄντος, ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπων βίον, ὃ λέγουσιν τὰ τολμῶντι πανταχῶ καὶ πρὸς πάντας καινοτομῶν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐμμένοντα τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ δόγμασι καὶ ἔθεσι, φίλον αὐτῶν τηρεῖν. 'Tis my Opinion, that no one who weighs Matters, will assert, that the Apostles should enter upon a wandering Life, for the sake of the Gospel of Christ, unless they were verily persuaded that they ought not only to learn it themselves but to teach it to others. When at the same time Danger every where threatened them for venting new Opinions, and where they were sure not to have any one Friend left among those who kept to their antient Opinions and Customs. *Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. i.*

2. The Circumstances which attended our Saviour's appearing after his Crucifixion, do clearly evince the Truth of his Resurrection. (1.) His not rising immediately from the Grave, but lying there such a length of time as no one could think that a Person in Health, much less one whose Body was full of Wounds, could stay there without dying, was a demonstrative Proof both of his dying and rising again. Which *Athanasius* thus remarks. Ἡ δὲ ἀναστὰς καὶ πάλιν δεικνύει ζῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ καλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπετίμηκεν. ἔπερ γὰρ ἀν' τὴν μηδὲν αὐτὸ τεθυνηκέναι, ἢ μηδὲ τέλος αὐτοῦ τὸ θάνατον ἐφαυκέναι, εἰ παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἀνάστασιν ἢ ἐπιδοκῆσαι. He might indeed have immediately raised up his Body from the dead, and shewed it alive. But our Saviour foreseeing very good Reasons to the contrary would not do this. For then perhaps some one would have said, that he did not die at all, or that he was not thoroughly dead, if immediately after his Death he had evidenced his Resurrection. *Athan. de Incarn.* (2.) Another Circumstance, which evidenced the Truth of his Resurrection, was his subjecting his Body, not only to the view but to the touch of those who doubted of it, as in the Case of *S. Thomas*.

Whereupon *S. Cyril* says, Ἡ ἀπίστια τῶ μαθητῶν καὶ ἡμετέρας πίστεως μὴ τῆς γυγνῆναι: The Unbelief of that Disciple was the Mother of our Faith. *Cyr. Alex. de Trin.* (3.) His eating and drinking with his Disciples after his rising again, was another Circumstantial Evidence of the Truth of our Saviour's Resurrection. For as a Spectre or an Aereal Body could not stand in need of such Reparations, so our Saviour could not without Collusion have so frequently used Food, if he had had a Body which did not properly Eat and Drink. And thus *S. Austin* reasons, Sciat, Christum post Resurrectionem cicatrices non vulnera demonstrasse dubitantibus, propter quos etiam Cibum & Potum sumere voluit, non semel sed sæpius, ne illud non Corpus sed Spiritum esse arbitrarentur, & sibi non solide sed imaginaliter apparere. Let him know, that Christ after his Resurrection did not shew Wounds to those who doubted but Scars: for whose sake likewise he was pleased to take meat and drink, not once but often, that they might know he was a Body and not a Spirit, and that he appeared to them really and not only in Imagination. *Aug. Ep. xxxix. ad Deo grat.*

3. The Truth of our Saviour's Resurrection does further appear from the frivolousness of the Objections, which are raised against it. The Sum of these are contained in this Relation of the Evangelist. And when the Chief Priests were assembled with the Elders, and had taken Counsel, they gave large Money unto the Soldiers, saying, say ye his Disciples came by Night, and stole him away while we slept. *Mat. xxviii. 12.* But this is crowded with such a heap of ridiculous Improbabilities, that no reasonable Person can admit. For (1.) This ascribes to the Disciples such a Degree of Courage, as it is clear they were not, at least at that time, Masters of. For how can it be supposed, that they who were afraid to stand by their Master when alive, should venture so much for him when he was dead? that they who run away at the sight of the Chief Priest's Officers, when they were in some probability of saving him alive, should, to recover his dead Carcase, venture through the Roman Guards which were set to keep it? *S. Chrysostom* thus exposes the ridiculousness of this Assertion. Ἦως γὰρ ἐκκελευτο, εἰπέ μοι, οἱ μαθηταὶ ἀνθρώποι πῶχοι καὶ ἰδιῶται, καὶ εἰδὲ φανῆναι τολμῶντες; καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ἡν σφραγίσ ἐπικειμένη; καὶ γὰρ ἡ παρεκάλητο τοσούτοι φύλακες, καὶ στρατιῶται, καὶ ἰσχυροὶ; καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ὑπώπνου τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμεινῶν, καὶ ἡγρόντων, καὶ ἐφροντίζον ἐκείνοι; Tell me, I pray you, how was it possible for his Disciples to steal his Body away, that were poor and ordinary Men, and at that time had not Courage to shew their Heads? Was not there a Seal set upon the Sepulchre? were not there Watchmen, Soldiers and Jews that sat by? Had not they Suspensions upon them, did not they watch, and carefully look about them? *Chrys. Hom. xc. in Mat.* (2.) The like Improbability is in the Disciples rolling away the great Stone that covered the Mouth of the Sepulchre; which it was impossible to do in the dead time of the Night so as not to be heard by the Guards; and not to waken them, if they had been asleep, which likewise argues a great Improbability that they should be. This Stone was a great flat Stone which the Hebrews call Golal, vid. *Misnab* in *Obolim*. This *Bartenora* will have sometimes to be bound down by another great Stone on the Top, which is called *Dopak Dopakim*. vid. *Misnab ex edit. Syrenhusii*. Par. vi. p. 162. Now it is not easy to imagine, that two or three fearful Men should either enterprize or finish, such a laborious piece of Work as this was, in the Neighbourhood of an armed Guard. (3.) Neither is it credible, if they had, by an unheard of Success, made their way into our Saviour's Sepulchre, so as to be able to convey away his Body, that they would have employ'd their time, in the midst of such Danger, upon so needless a curiosity as to strip off his Grave Clothes, and unwind all the Bandage which the viscous Gums had made stick so close to his Body, that it would require a great deal of time to pull them off; and not only so but that they should lay them up carefully in order. For when *Peter* came to the Sepulchre, he saw the linnen Clothes lie; and the Napkin that was about his Head, not lying with the linnen Clothes, but wrapped together in a place by it self, *John xx. 7, 8.* These Improbabilities *S. Chrysostom* thus exposes. Τὶ ὃ βέλτερον καὶ τὰ σφραγίστα τὰ τῇ σμύρῃ περιεπεπηγότα; ταῦτα γὰρ εἶδεν ὁ Πέτρος κείμενα ἐν γὰρ ἐβόλοντο κλέψαι ἐκ ἀν' ὑμῶν ἐκκελευτο τὸ σῶμα, εἰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐνυβείναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ ὡς μὴ ἐν τῷ σποδύνει μέλλειν καὶ βεβδύνην, καὶ παρέχεν τοῖς βελομένοις διαναστῆναι καὶ κατασχῆναι μάλιστα ὅτι σμύρνα ἦν φάρμακον ἔτι κολλῶδες τῷ σώματι καὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις περιεπεπηγός. ὅθεν ἐκ ἑυκολον ἦν σπασθῆναι τὰ ἱμάτια τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ χεῖρα ὅτι τὰ

he ascended into
Heaven, and there
sitteth till he re-

wherewith he ^b ascended into
Heaven, and there ^c sitteth, un-

pit : cum quibus in
cælum ascendit, ibi-
que residet, quoad ex-

ΤΙΤΟ ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΔΕΟΝΤΙ. *What account can be given of the Linnen that was stift with the Myrrh? Peter saw these lying. Now if they had a mind to steal the Body, would they not have taken it away as it was, not only to avoid being laughed at for an unnecessary Action, but because it would take up so much time, and give the Guard an Opportunity of awaking and apprehending them? Because Myrrh is a Drug, which is of so sticky a nature and clings so close both to the Body and the Clothes, that it would not be easy to pull away such Clothes from a Body, especially when the Men that did this were in a fright.* Chrys. Hom. xc. in Mat.

b *Ascended into Heaven.*] It must be observed, that whereas the Belief of the Ascension of our Saviour is a principal Article of our Faith, to is it both predicted in the Old Testament, and express Testimony is given thereof in the New.

1. The Ascension of Christ is predicted in the Old Testament. And this (1.) Typically, by the High-Priest's annual entering into the Holy of Holies. *The Lord said unto Moses, speak unto Aaron thy Brother, that he come not at all times into the Holy place within the vail before the Mercy Seat, &c. Lev. xvi. 2.* Which the Apostle makes to be a Typical Representation of Christ's Ascension into Heaven. *The High Priest of the good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle not made with Hands was to enter into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal Redemption for us, Heb. ix. 11, 12.* (2.) Prophetically. There are two principal Texts of the Old Testament which do Predict the Ascension of our Lord. The first is that of the lxxviiith Psalm. *Thou hast ascended up on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received Gifts of Men, Psal. lxxviii. 18.* This Text is applied to this purpose by the Apostle S. Paul, *Eph. iv. 9.* intimating that hereby was foretold that Christ should conquer Sin, Death and Hell, and triumphing over them should obtain for us all the advantageous Gifts of God's holy Spirit. Rabbi Solomon indeed explains this of Moses, and Aben Ezra of David; but it can with no Propriety of Speech be said that they ascended up on high; for as *Shobab le marom, return on high*, is attributed in another Psalm to God as a peculiar Property of his, *Psal. vii. 8.* so this is never ascribed to any human Conqueror. Another Prophecie of our Saviour's Ascension is that of Micah ii. 13. *The breaker is come up before them: they have broken up and passed through the gate, and are gone out by it, and their King shall pass before them, and the Lord at the Head of them.* This the Bereishith Rabba explains of the Messiah. For on those Words of the lxxxth Psalm, *the Vineyard which thy right hand hath planted*, he has these Words, *The plantation from beneath is of Abraham, the plantation from above is of the Messiah, as it is written, Mic. ii. 13.* And on Genesis xiv. 18. speaks thus. *Emithi amon, &c. When shall we rejoice when the feet of the Divinity shall stand in the mount of Olives, which is Eastward before Jerusalem.* vid. Raimund. Pug. Fid. p. 685.

II. The Ascension of Christ is proved by the joint Testimony of the Apostles, who were all Witnesses of that wonderful matter of Fact. For they were all there, when S. Mark says, *so then after the Lord had spoken to them he was received up into Heaven*, Mark xvi. 19. And when S. Luke relates the same, *And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lift up his hands and blessed them. And it came to pass, when he blessed them he was parted from them and carried up into Heaven*, Luke xxiv. 50, 51. And so in that more particular Relation of the Ascension, Acts i. 9. *And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their sight*. S. Chrysostom makes a handsome Remark, concerning what the Apostles saw with relation to Christ's Resurrection, and what they saw with relation to his Ascension; it being sufficient for a Ground of their Testimony to have seen him risen; but that it was necessary, for a certainty of their Evidence that they should see him actually ascend. βλέπόντων ἡ ἐκ ἀνέβη, βλέπόντων δ' ἀπῆρθη. ἐπειδὴν ἐνταῦθα ἡ ὁψις τὸ πᾶν ἔχουσι. καὶ ἵδ' ὁ ἀναστάσις τὸ μὲν

τέλῃ αἰδόν, ἢ ὃ ἀρχὴν ἐκέτι. Καὶ ἡ ἀναλήψις ἢ μὴ ἀρ-
χὴν αἰδόν, τὸ ὃ τέλῃ ἐκέτι. παρῆλκε γὰρ αἰώνον τὸ ὃ ἀρχὴν
ἰδεῖν, αὐτὰς τὰ ταῦτα οὐβιγγομένη παρὸν, καὶ τὴ μνήματῃ
δηλῶντ, ὅτι καὶ ἐστὶν αἰών· ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτο λόγῳ ἐδεῖ μα-
θεῖν. ἐπεὶτα γὰρ καὶ ἀρῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ δεῖξαι τὸ ὕψῳ εἰς
παιδεῦσαι πότερον εἰς εἰς ἄρανον ἀνῆλθεν, &c. He did not rise
again in the sight of his Disciples, but he was taken up as
they looked on. They saw the end of his Resurrection, but
not the beginning. They saw the beginning of his Ascen-
sion, but not the end. It was unnecessary for them to see
the beginning, because he being yet present with them could
inform them of it, the Sepulchre it self being an Evidence
that he was not there. But what followed after this they
must learn by Word. For their Eyes would not serve them
to look to that height, nor to inform them of that Heaven to
which he went, Chrys. in A& Hom. ii.

III. Our Saviour ascended into the *Heretickal Errors* the highest Heaven, the immediate Seat of the Divine Glory and Presence. There were some of the antient Hereticks, who by misunderstanding that Passage in the ninth Psalm according to the Septuagint Translation, *Εν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκηνώμα αὐτοῦ* *he has placed his Tabernacle in the Sun*, would have our Saviour only to have ascended thither. This was the Opinion of the Manichees and some other Hereticks. For thus *Nazianzen*. *Οὐ γὰρ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν Μανιχαίων λήρην τὸ ἵκλιν' αναποδέχεται, ἵνα τιμῇ διὰ τ' ἀτίμίας.* For Christ's Body was not, according to the Dreams of the Manichees, lodged in the Sun, to be honoured with Dishonour. Epist. i. ad Cled. The Dishonour he mentions is more particularly expressed by *S. Austin*, who likewise relates this foolish Notion of those Hereticks; further adding, that they believed the Sun to be Christ. *Manichæi solem istum carnis oculis visibilem, expositum & publicum, non tantum hominibus, sed etiam pecoribus ad videndum, Christum Dominum esse putant.* The Manichees did believe the Sun, which is visible by these fleshy Eyes, and open to the view, not only of Men but of Beasts, to be Christ. Tract. xxxiv. in Job. But the holy Scriptures inform us that he ascended into the highest Heaven. For the Apostle says expressly of him, *he that descended is the same also that ascended up for above all heavens*, Eph. iv. 10. that he went into the holy place, even into Heaven it self to appear in the presence of God, Heb. ix. 12. And 'tis this which our Saviour himself meant, when he said, *What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up, where he was before?*

Of Christ's Session on the right Hand of God.

c *There sitteth.*] For the Explication of this Clause of the Article, it will be requisite to observe the following Particulars.

I. That our Saviour's being exalted to sit on the right Hand of God, was what was predicted in the Old Testament. The most remarkable Passage for this purpose is that of the cxxth Psal. v. 1. *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* That this is a Prophecy of the Messiah we have the Testimony of Christ himself, the force of which operated so strong upon the Jews of that time, that they were perfectly silenced by it. *What think ye of Christ* (says he to the Pharisees) *whose Son is he? they say unto him the Son of David.* He said unto them, *how then doth David in Spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* If David then call him Lord, how is he his Son? and no man was able to answer him a Word, Mat. xxii. 43, &c. The Jewish Doctors do explain the same *Psalm* of the Messiah. In the *Midrash Tehillim*, or Commentary on the *Psalms*, they have this Traditionary Explication. *Amar Rabbi Joden, &c. Rabbi Joden in the name of Rabbi Chama said, that in future times God shall place King Messiah at his right hand as it is written, The Lord said unto my Lord sit thou, &c.* And *Rabbi Moses Hadarsan* on *Gen. xviii.* makes the same Conclusion from the forementioned Verse of this *Psal.* vid. *Raimund. Pug. Fid.* p. 684. Besides the Targum explains the same *Psal.* of the Messiah. For in interpreting these Words,

turn to judge all Men
at the Last Day.

til he return to *^d judge all
Men at the Last Day.

tremo die ad judican-
dos homines reversu-
rus sit.

* Judge all Men. MSS. CCC. 1571.

Words, *The Lord said*, &c. he explains, *Amar Jehovah le meirab: The Lord said unto his Word.*

II. That our Saviour in the New Testament is expressly declared to be set at the right hand of God. For Mark xvi. 13. he is said to be received up into Heaven, and to sit on the right hand of God. And by S. Luke, Hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the right hand of

the power of God, Luke xxii. 69. S. Peter argues from the forementioned Passage of the Psalmist, *David is not ascended into the Heavens, but he saith himself, The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand*, &c. Acts ii. 34. The like is argued by the Author to the Hebrews, *To which of the Angels said he at any time, sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?* Heb. i. 13. And S. Peter says expressly, *Christ is gone into Heaven, and is on the right hand of God*, 1 Pet. iii. 22.

III. That this going, to sit on the right hand of God, does denote a high degree of Exaltation. This is clear from the import of the Hebrew Phrase, which is used to signify any Person's being highly honoured. For when Solomon was minded to afford his Mother a distinguishing mark of Honour, he placed her on his right hand. *He sat down on his Throne, and caused a Seat to be set for the King's Mother, and she sate on his right hand*, 1 Kings ii. 19. So the Queen in the xlvth Psalm is said to stand on the King's right hand in Gold of Ophir, Psal. xlv. 9. And the Writers of the New Testament, when they mention this Session on God's right hand, do intimate thereby that he is exalted to a mighty degree of Majesty and Power. This our Saviour himself intends, when he says, *Hereafter ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power*, Mat. xxvii. 64. And so the Author to the Hebrews, *When he had by himself purged our Sins, he sate down on the right hand of the Majesty on high*, Heb. i. 3. And elsewhere, *We have an high Priest who is set on the right hand of the Majesty in the Heavens*, Heb. viii. 1. Agreeable to this Custom, among the Heathens, Tiridates was placed on the Emperor's right hand. *Suet. in Nerono.* So Pindar describes *Minerva*, *δεξιαν χεῖρα καὶ πατέρα καθέζομένην: sitting on the right hand of Jupiter her Father*, cited by *Aristides*; which *Horace* thus imitates.

*Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.*

Christ's sitting on God's right hand does imply his Intercession for us.

IV. Christ's sitting at the right hand of God does imply his Intercession for us there. That Christ does intercede for us to his Father, and plead his Merits to him on our behalf, in that exalted State, to which he is now advanced, is the clear Doctrine of the holy Scriptures. For S. John tells us, *That we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous*, 1 John ii. 1. S. Paul informs us, that Christ does intercede for us at the right hand of God, Rom. viii. 34. And the Author to the Hebrews says expressly, that Christ is entered into Heaven it self now to appear in the presence of God for us, Heb. ix. 24. This Office of his Intercession is discharged in the Performance of these Particulars.

Christ intercedes for us by presenting our Prayers to the Father, to make them more effectual through his Merits. And this the Holy Scripture teaches us, when it says, that through him we have access to the

Father, Eph. ii. 18. and by him we have access to the divine grace, Rom. v. 2. This act of his intercession is thus expressed by Origen. *Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἕνα θεόν, καὶ τὸ ἕνα υἱόν αὐτοῦ, καὶ λόγον καὶ εἰκόνα, ταῖς καὶ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἐκείναις, καὶ ἀξιώσει σέβομεν, προσάγοντες τὸ Θεῷ ᾧ ὅλων τὰς εὐχὰς διὰ τοῦ μοναγενοῦς αὐτοῦ ὡς πρῶτον προστρέχοντες αὐτῷ, ἀξιώσαντες αὐτὸν ἱλασμον ὄντα περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν προσάγαγῃν ὡς ἀρχιερέα, καὶ εὐχὰς, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἡμῶν ᾧ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ. We worship one God, and his Son the Word and his Image with all the Supplications and Postulations we can, offering Prayers to the God of all, through his only begot-*

ten: to whom we first offer them, beseeching him, as he is a Propitiation for our Sins, that he, as our high Priest, would present our Prayers, Sacrifices and Intercessions, to the supreme God. Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. viii. (2.) In praying for us himself, (i. e.) by using his Intreaties and Intercessions on our behalf. For that seems to be the meaning of that Expression he ever lives to make Intercession for us; (i. e.) to pray God to be reconciled to us. For it must be observed that ἐντυγχάνειν bears that Sense among the Writers of the New Testament. The true original Sense of the Word ἐντυγχάνειν is to make an earnest Complaint against any one to a Judge, for redress for an injury done. For *Hesychius* explains ἐντευξίς to be ἀπάντησις καὶ ἡ ἀπαντησις αὐτῶν δέησις εἰς ἐνδίκην. *Gregory Nazianzen* observes that ἐντυγχάνειν, or to make Intercession in Scripture, is different from the common or Heathen Notion of the Word. *Τὸ γὰρ ἐντυγχάνειν, ὡς ὅτι ἡ ἡμεῶν πολλῶν συνήθεια τὸ ζητεῖν ἐνδίκην ἐστίν. The Word ἐντυγχάνειν does not signify here, what is vulgarly meant by it, to seek revenge or redress*, Greg. Naz. Or. xxxvi. As far as I can observe this Word is used by S. Paul (for 'tis used no where in the New Testament but in his Epistles) as a Word of a middle Signification, as *valetudo*, *fama*, *fortuna*. It always implies a δέησις an earnest Prayer or Supplication, tho' it may be applied either to the seeking for the Benefit or the Suffering of any Person. S. Paul uses the Word once in the vulgar Sense, *Wot ye not what the Scripture saith of Elias? how he [ἐντυγχάνειν] maketh Intercession to God against Israel?* Rom. xi. 2. ἐντυγχάνειν here signifies to put in a Plea, or to lay a Charge against, which is not properly to intercede, and therefore should have been otherways translated. In the other Places it signifies, to put in an earnest Plea for, or heartily to intreat for some Benefit for another. S. *Austin* looks upon Prayer to be so necessary a part of Christ's Intercession, that he cannot imagine it can consist without it. *Nam de ipso Domino nostro dictum est, quod interpellat pro nobis. Nunquid interpellat & non etiam postulat? Imò vero quia postulat, pro eo positum est interpellat. It is said of our Lord that he intercedes for us. Does he intercede for us, and not pray for us? Rather, because he prays for us, he is said to intercede for us.* Aug. Ep. lix. But then we must not think that this Prayer of our Saviour on our behalf is performed by way of formal Petition, Genuflexion, Prostration, or any other of the ordinary Circumstances of our Devotions here upon Earth: *Gregory Nazianzen* very well guards against any such Notion. *Οὕτω δὲ Παράκλητον ἐχομεν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προκυλινδύμενον τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ περισπύοντα δακρυῶς. ἀπαγε τὸ δέλιν ὄντως ὑπόνοιαν, καὶ ἀναξίαν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἔτε γὰρ τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐμπήνται, ἔτε τῷ υἱὲ πάχειν ἢ ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ διανοῶν δίκαιον. Christ does not in that manner intercede for us, as to fall down before his Father and lie prostrate in a servile manner. Away with the Suspicion of such a dejected Posture, and which does not become the Spirit. For this does not become the Father to expect, nor the Son to pay.* Greg. Naz. Orat. xxx. (3.) Lastly, Christ's Intercession is performed by presenting his crucified Body to his Father, thereby inclining him by the Intuition of his Merits towards our Pardon, and obtaining all necessary Gifts and Graces for us. This seems to be intimated, when Christ is said in Scripture, to appear before God on our behalf; and to make Intercession for us. For thus *Theophylact*, in Rom. cap. viii. *Τινὲς δὲ τοῦ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὕτως ἐνόησαν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα φορεῖν, καὶ ἐκ ἐπέθετο αὐτὸ, ὡς οἱ Μανιχαῖοι ληρῶσιν. αὐτὸ γὰρ πρὸς βίαν ἐστὶ καὶ εὐτευξίς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα. Βλέπων γὰρ αὐτὸ ὁ Πατήρ, ἀναμιμνήσκειται τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀγάπης, δι' ἣν ἐφόρεσε τὸ σῶμα ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ δίκτον νέμει, καὶ ἔλεον. Some think that, by Christ's Intercession for us, is meant this; That the Body which he is clothed with (for he has not laid aside his Body as the dotting Manichees pretend) is a sort of an Embassy or Petition to the Father. For the Father looking upon this, remembers his dear love to Men which inclined his Son to take upon him a Body; and this inclines him to Mercy and Pity.*

Of Christ's Judging the World.

d Until he return to judge, &c.] Being to explain this Branch of the Article which relates to the final Judgment,

it will be requisite to take Notice, of the following Particulars.

Christ's coming to Judgment predicted in the Old Testament. I. That Christ's coming to judge the World was predicted, before the appearing of Christ. That Traditionary Prophecie of Enoch, referred to by the Apostle S. Jude, seems to relate to this.

Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied of his coming, saying, *behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his Angels*, Jude 14. But this is more expressly predicted by Daniel, when he said, *I saw in the night Visions, and behold one like the Son of Man, came with the Clouds of Heaven, and came to the antient of days, and they brought him before him. And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed*, Dan. vii. 13, 14. All the Jewish Writers and Commentators do explain this place of the Messiah. Rabbi Solomon Jarchi on the place, *Enosh hou melek bame-shiach: this Man is the King Messiah*. And the like Explication is given by Aben Ezrah. Amar Rabbi, &c. R. Jesuab said, *that this Person being the Son of Man was the Messiah, and he said well*. Ab. Ez. in locum. Indeed the Jewish Writers and the Christians disagree in this, that the Jews will have this place to be understood, of the first coming of the glorious Messiah, which they expected; for some of them think that the Messiah shall come either humble or glorious, according as their Actions do merit. For thus their Book Sanedrim, in the Section Chelek, speaks. Amar Rabbi Alexandri, &c. Rabbi Alexander said, Rabbi Josuah objected, *it is written concerning King Messiah, Behold he shall come like the Son of Man with the Clouds from Heaven: and it is written elsewhere, Zach. ix. 9. Poor and riding upon an Ass. If they deserve well he shall come in the Clouds of Heaven, but if they deserve ill, poor and riding upon an Ass.* vid. Gal. Pug. Fig. p. 354.

Christ's coming to Judgment expressly declared in the New Testament.

II. That there is very clear Evidence of the Truth of this Doctrine. For as this is one of the principal Articles of Christianity, which the Apostles laid down their Lives to propagate, so they have left it in their Writings expressed in the most clear and ample Words. This is positively asserted and foretold by our Saviour himself, *Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of Power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven*, Mat. xxvi. 64. When our Saviour's Ascension is related, we have an account, that the Angels which attended him declared, *This same Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into Heaven*, Acts i. 11. And S. Paul informs us, *That the Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel and the Trump of God*, 1 Thes. iv. 16. and again, *when the Lord shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels*, 2 Thes. i. 7.

III. The Circumstances of this future Judgment, are very particularly related in Scripture.

1. It is expressly declared, that this judiciary Power is now vested in, and shall hereafter be exercised by, our blessed Saviour. For this is declared by our blessed Lord himself, *All power is given unto me both in heaven and in earth*, Mat. xxviii. 18. *The Father judgeth no man; but hath committed all judgment unto the Son*, John v. 22. And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he, that was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead, Acts x. 42. He hath appointed a day in which he

will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained, Acts xvii. 31. Not but that this will be an Act of the whole blessed Trinity, only the human Nature of the Son visibly appearing therein, it is ascribed more particularly to him. Upon this account Gregory Nyssen speaks thus. *Ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Πατὴρ κρίνει ἡμῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς μάχεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ γὰρ ἡμεῖς. Ὁ γὰρ κρίνων πάντων τῆς γῆς διὰ τὸ ὅτι, ὡς πᾶσαν δέδωκε ἡ κρίσιν, τὸ ποιεῖ καὶ πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τῆς μονογενῆς γινόμενον εἰς τὸ πατέρα ἡ ἀναφορὰν ἔχει, ὥστε καὶ κρίτῃν αὐτὸν τὸ πάντως εἶναι, καὶ κρίνειν μηδένα διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν, ὡς εἴρηται. ἡ κρίσιν τῇ ᾧ δέδωκεναι, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ᾧ κρίσιν τῇ πατρὶ καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ βουλήματι. When we hear that the Father judges no Man, we must not think that the Scriptures clash. For he that judgeth the World by his Son, to whom he hath given judgment, judgeth it himself; and whatever is done by the unbegotten hath relation to the Father, so that he is the Judge of all things and yet judges no one, because as it is said he hath given all judgment to the Son, and the judgment of the Son is not different from the judgment of the Father. Greg. Nyss. Tract. Quod non tres sint Dii.*

2. The Persons who are to be judged are expressly likewise declared, viz. *The Persons to be judged.* all Men. Before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from his Goats, Mat. xxv. 32. We must all appear before the judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad, 2 Cor. v. 10. And the Sea gave up the dead that were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead that were in them; and they were judged every man according to their works, Rev. xx. 13. We shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, Rom. xiv. 10. It is he that is ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead, Acts x. 42. By the quick and the dead in this last Passage, some of the Ancients understood Body and Soul. As Isidore Pelusiot. *Τὸ κρίνειν τὸ ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, τὰτ' ὅτι, τὸ καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς κρίσιν ἐλευσάμεν.* Isid. Pel. Ep. cxxii. For the same Opinion Methodius is quoted by Theophylact in 1 Thess. iv. But Theodoret more truly explains this Expression. *Νεκρῶν καὶ ζῶντων κρίτῃν ἡ κρίσις, καὶ τὸ κρίνειν αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸς νεκροὺς ἀνίστησι, καὶ εἰς τὸ κρίτῃν αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὸς ζῶντας ἡ συντελεία κατὰ τὴν ἐνείκελόν ἐκδύναται ἡ ἀποδοσις, ἀπασὶν τὰς ἐκδύνας.* He calls Christ the judge of the quick and the dead, because he raises up the dead and brings them to judgment, and of those, that shall be found at the time of the Consummation, clothing them with incorruption, he shall require of them an account of their actions, Theod. ad 2 Tim. iv. 1.

3. The form of this judicial Procedure is yet further described in Scripture. *The form of the judicial procedure.* When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his glory, Mat. xxv. 31. The Lord himself shall appear from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the Trump of God: and the dead shall rise first, &c. 1 Thess. iv. 16. S. Austin is of Opinion, that Christ shall be visible, only as to his human Nature to the wicked whom he shall judge. *Visio filii hominis exhibebitur et malis. Nam visio formae Dei, non nisi mundis corde, qui ipsi Deum videbunt, i. e. solis piis exhibebitur, quorum dilectioni hoc ipsum promittit, quia seipsum ostendit illis.* The vision of the Son of Man shall be exhibited even to the wicked. But the vision of the form of God only to the pure in heart, for they only shall see God, i. e. only to the pious, to whose love he has promised this, because he has shewn himself to them, Aug. de Trin. Lib. i. c. 13.

ARTICLE V.

V. The Doctrine of the holy Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.

Of the Holy Ghost.

V. De Spiritu Sancto.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation:

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son,

Spiritus Sanctus, a Patre & Filio procedens, ejusdem est

Personality of the Holy Ghost. a Holy Ghost.] The Word Ghost is a Saxon Word that signifies Spirit, and having the Word Holy added to it, is generally used to denote the third Person of the Blessed Trinity. Much Opposition has been made to this Article of our Faith, by several Hereticks both Antient and Modern: some have denied his Personality, allowing him only to be a Quality or Operation; whilst others, that have acknowledged him to be a Person, have denied his Godhead; contending that he was only a created Being or Spirit. But in Opposition to the first of these Opinions, we assert that the whole Phraseology of the Holy Scripture does directly contradict this Notion; all Expressions therein concerning the Holy Ghost being so worded as to denote him to be a Person. For with what Propriety of Speech can an Accident or Quality be called the Comforter? How can a Quality be said to be grieved, Eph. iv. 30. If the Holy Ghost were not a Person, how could he be said to Search all things, 1 Cor. ii. 10. this being inconsistent with a mere Quality? Can an Accident be said to speak? as when the Spirit said unto Peter, behold three men seek thee, Acts x. 19. and when the Holy Ghost said separate me Barnabas and Saul, &c. Acts xiii. 2. The like is to be said of other Actions ascribed to the Holy Ghost, which are altogether Personal. As his making Intercession for the Saints, Rom. viii. 22. For 'tis impossible that an Operation or Quality can intercede or make an interest for any. And so of the speaking and hearing, that is attributed to the Holy Ghost. When he the Spirit of Truth is come he will guide you into all Truth; for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, John xvi. 13.

b Proceeding from Father and Son.] This Truth being denied by the Greek Church, and thereby an unhappy Schism having arisen between the Greek and the Latin Churches, it may be of Use to consider a little the Rise and Progress of this unlucky Controversie.

An Account of the Controversie concerning the Procession.

The Church was never troubled with this Dispute till after the Year CCCXXX. The first rise thereof was owing to Theodoret, who in his Dispute with Cyril gave occasion thereunto. For Cyril writing against Nestorius, asserted, That Christ did not make use of the Holy Ghost to work his Miracles, as a borrowed Assistance, and That the Holy Ghost was a Property of the Son. To this Theodoret answers, That if he meant by this, that the Holy Ghost was *ὁμοούσιος* proceeding from the same Original with the Son, viz. the Father, the Proposition was true: *ἐστὶ δὲ ὡς ἔχει ὁ ὕψιστος ὁ πατὴρ ἐχόν, ὡς βλάστημον τὸ τοῦ καὶ ὡς δούλους ἀποδιδόμεν;* but if he meant, he has his original from the Son, we detest this as blasphemous and impious. Theod. in Conf. Anath. 9. Cyr. But the Controversie then died, with those Writers. About the Year DCCLXXVII the Dispute was revived under the Emperor Constantine Copronymus. And again it was ventilated in the Council of Aquisgrane, between Adelmus and John a Monk of Jerusalem. Adonis Chron. Anno DCCCIX. But in the Year DCCCLVIII. it broke out again more furiously, by the means of Photius, who got in the See of Constantinople, by the Ejection of Ignatius. For this and other Practices Pope Nicholas excommunicates Photius, and Photius in his turn excommunicates Nicholas; alledging Heresie against him, particularly that he and the Latin Church acknowledged, That the Holy Ghost did proceed from the Father and the Son. Pope Nicholas writes

to Hincmar Bishop of Remes for his Opinion concerning this Controversie. Pope Nicholas dying, and Basilus Macedo being Emperor of Constantinople, Ignatius is restored, and Photius is condemned in the Eighth General Council according to the Latins. An. DCCCLXIX. Many were the bickerings between the two Churches, in private Disputes, for a long time ensuing; but in the Council of Bar MXCVII. it more was publickly ventilated, where Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury gained great Honour in defending the cause of the Latin Church, *vid. Will. Malmsbur. ad. an.* In the Council of the Lateran under Innocent the Third, matters seem to have been brought to a Compromise between the two Churches; but some time after, under Johannes Douca the Emperor, the Disputes burst out into the old Flame again, *Niceph. Greg. Lib. v.* In the Year MCCLXXIV was held the Council of Lyons, to which Michael Palaeologus Emperor of Constantinople sent several of his Bishops, who agreed with the Latin Bishops in acknowledging the Filioque, A& Syn. Ludg. But soon after the Flame broke out anew, for Michael dying, his Body was not suffered to have Christian Burial, by reason of his Heretical Compliance with the Latins. *Nic. Greg. Lib. vi.* In the Year MCCCCXXXIX was held the Council of Florence wherein this Controversie was more nicely debated, where great number of the Greeks at first were present; but being tired out with long Disputes most of them withdrew before the Determination; and most of those that remained agreed with the Latins; others refused to subscribe to the Canons of that Council. And being got home again they espoused their old Doctrines, as they continue to do to this Day.

But though this Doctrine of the Latin Church, which we profess, be not in express Terms asserted in Scripture, viz. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, yet there are several Passages of Holy Writ which do virtually contain this Truth. For since the Holy Ghost is called the Spirit of the Father, and in other Places the Spirit of the Son, it is plain that he proceedeth from both. First he is called the Spirit of the Father. *It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you, Mat. x. 20. The things of God knoweth no Man but the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. xi. 12.* He is likewise called the Spirit of the Son. *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, Gal. iv. 6. If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his, Rom. viii. 9. The Spirit of Christ which was in the Prophets, 1 Pet. i. 11.* The like is proved by the common Mission of the Holy Ghost both by the Father and the Son. *As the Holy Ghost whom the Father will send, John xiv. 26. when the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you.*

As fond and tenacious as the later Greeks are of their Opinion, concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, their Predecessors in that Church were clearly of a different Opinion. To omit Authorities, which are more obscure and Consequential, these following seem to carry positive Clearness with them.

EPIPHANIUS in Ancor. Num. 71. has this express Passage. *Πνεῦμα ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀληθείας ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱόν.* The Holy Ghost is the third Light, proceeding from the Father and the Son. And in his Book of Heresies, Her. 74. *Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων, πνεῦμα καὶ πνεύματος. πνεῦμα δὲ ὁ Θεός.*

The Holy Ghost proceedeth both from the Father and the Son, Spirit from Spirit: for God is a Spirit. And again, Hier. 62. Οὐκ ἀλλότῃ οἱ πατέρες καὶ υἱός, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπόστασι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ θεότητι ἐν πατέρι καὶ υἱῷ, σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ ἐνυπόστατον αἰὲν πνεῦμα ἅγιον. The Holy Ghost is not of a different Nature from the Father and the Son, but of the same Essence, of the same Godhead with the Father and the Son, always subsisting with the Father and the Son.

GREG. NYSSSEN, in his second Book against *Eunomius*, makes the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Son as a Principle, as well as from the Father. Ὡς γὰρ συνάπτεται τῷ πατρὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ ἔχων, ἐκ ὑπερῶν καὶ ὑπάρξιν. ἔτω πάλιν καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς ἔχεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ αἰτίας λόγον, προθεωρημένον τῷ πνεύματι ὑποστάσεως. *As the Son is united to the Father and receives his Essence from him, and is not later than him as to Existence: so the Holy Ghost has the Spirit of the unbegotten: who only by Cogitation, according to the Nature of a Principle, is considered as before.*

DIDYMUS in his *de Spiritu Sancto*, translated by *S. Jerom*, has this remarkable Expression concerning the Procession. *Non enim loquitur de seipso. Hoc est non sine me, & patris arbitrio: quia inseparabilis est mea & Patris est voluntate. Quia non ex se, ex Patre & me est. Hoc enim ipsum, quod subsistit a Patre & me illi est. He shall not speak of himself. That is, not without me and the Will of my Father: because he is inseparable from my Will and that of the Father. Because he is not of himself, but of the Father and me. For he has his Subsistence from the Father and me. And again in his Comment on the 16th Verse of the same Chapter, he expresses himself thus. Spiritum Sanctum a Filio accipere id quod suae naturae fuerat, cognoscendum est: It ought to be known, that the Holy Ghost does receive his Nature from the Son.*

CYRILL abounds with Testimonies for the support of this Truth. Of many which are produced by the Controvertists on the side of the Latins, these are a few. Τρεπτόν ἐστι τοῦ πνεύματος εἶναι ἢ ἕτερον τὸ τρέπον νοεῖ, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ μῦθος ἀναδραμεῖται τῇ θείᾳ φύσει. ἕτερον εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, καὶ πατέρα, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ υἱὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀμοιβῶν, ἔστιν ἐκ πατρὸς δι' ἡμῶν προχέμενον πνεῦμα. *The Holy Ghost is by no means mutable, for if he were subject to this Infirmary, this would have an influence upon his Divinity. For he is of God the Father and the Son, and proceeds essentially from both, viz. of the Father by the Son. Cyr. de Ador. Lib. i. Again. Ἡ γὰρ δὲ θεὸς, καὶ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ φύσιν ὁ υἱός (γενένηται γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ πατέρων) ἰδίον αὐτῷ τε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ θεῶν τοῦ πνεύματος εἶναι, καθάπερ ἀμείβεται καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ νοεῖται τὸ θεῖον καὶ πατέρα. For as the Son is God, and of God according to his Nature (for he is born of God and the Father) he is his [ιδίον] Property [or true Offspring] and in him and from him the Holy Ghost, who is as much his as God the Father's. Cyr. in Irel. cap. ii. In his *Theaurus*, he has this remarkable Passage, insisted on much by *Beccus*, *Calecas* and the other old Writers in this Controversie. Ὅτε τοίνυν τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ ἅγιον ἐν ἡμῖν γενόμενον συμμέρους ἡμῶν ἀποδραμεῖται θεῶν, πέσει οἱ ἐκ πατέρων καὶ υἱῶν, προδύλον ὅτι τῇ θείᾳ φύσει, υἱοῦ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ θεῶν πατέρα, ὡς ἐν ἀμείβεται καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα ἐκτρέχον ἐμύσημα. Whereas the Holy Ghost in us makes us conformable to God, proceedeth from the Father and the Son, it is manifest that he is of the divine Essence, substantially in it, and proceeding from it; as the Breath which proceedeth from Man's Mouth. Cyr. Thef. Lib. xxxiv.*

S. BASIL in his third Book against *Eunomius*, has a remarkable Passage upon this Head. Τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ἀξιώματι, καὶ τῇ τάξει τεῖτον ὑπάρχει τὸ πνεῦμα, τεῖτον ἢ αὐτὸ καὶ τῇ φύσει; Ἀξιώματι γὰρ δὲ δευτερεύειν τῷ υἱῷ [παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι] ἔχον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνον, καὶ ἀναγγέλλον ἡμῖν, καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνης τῇ αἰτίας ἡμετέρας. *What necessity is there that the Holy Ghost, by being third in dignity in order, should be last in Nature? For to be next in dignity after the Son [as having his Essence from him, affording Revelation to us and depending upon him as a Principle] as the Holy Scripture informs us. The Words within the Hooks were excepted against by *Marcus Ephesus*, the Champion for the Greek cause, in the Council of *Florence*: but *John*, who maintained the *Filioque*, averred, that he had consulted four or five Copies of *S. Basil*, that were at *Constantinople*, where the Clause was, and that there were many more Copies which had it; one of which was written before the Controversie was started, vid. *Com. Flor. Sess. xx.**

The Latin Fathers likewise, who flourished before this unhappy Controversie began, assert the same Doctrine.

S. HILARY in his second Book of the Trinity has these Words. *Loqui de eo [i. e. Spiritu Sancto] non necesse est, quia de Patre & Filio Authoribus confitendus est. There is no occasion to speak of the Holy Ghost, because he is acknowledged to proceed from the Father and the Son. And in his Eighth Book thus. A Filio igitur accipit, quia & ab eo mittitur, & a Patre procedit: & interrogo utrum id ipsum sit a Filio accipere, quod a Patre procedere. Quod si nihil differre creditur, inter accipere a Filio, & a Patre procedere: certe id ipsum, acque unum esse existimabitur a Filio accipere, quod sit accipere a Patre. Ipse autem Dominus ait, Quoniam de meo accipiat, &c. He therefore receives from the Son, because he is sent by him, and proceedeth from the Father: and I ask, whether it be the same thing to receive from the Son, as to proceed from the Father: certainly it is the same; for the Lord saith He shall receive of mine, &c.*

S. AMBROSE in his first Book of the Holy Ghost, speaks thus. *Spiritus quoque Sanctus, cum procedit a Patre & Filio, non separatur a Patre, non separatur a Filio. Whereas the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, he is not separated from the Father, nor from the Son.*

S. AUSTIN in his fourth Book of the Trinity does very clearly assert the Procession of the Holy Ghost both from Father and Son. *Non possumus dicere, quod Spiritus Sanctus & a Filio non procedat: neque enim frustra idem Spiritus & Patris, & Filii Spiritus dicitur. We cannot say, that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Son: for otherways he could not be called the Spirit of the Father, and the Spirit of the Son. And again in his fifteenth Book, having asserted that the Holy Ghost does proceed originally from the Father, he adds, Ideo autem addidi, principaliter, quia & de Filio Spiritus Sanctus procedere reperitur. I therefore add the word principally, because the Holy Ghost is likewise said to proceed from the Son.*

LEO in his xciii Epistle lays down the same Doctrine, and says, *alium esse qui genuit; alium qui genitus est; alium qui ab utroque processit. He that begat is one; he that is begotten is another; and different yet is he that proceeds from both.*

PRUDENTIUS likewise asserts the Procession from the Son, as well as from the Father: who speaking of the Son writes thus:

*Qui noster Dominus, qui tuus unicus,
Spirat de patrio corde Paracletum.*

*Our blessed Lord, thy only Son,
Does from his Father's Bosom breath
The Paraclet ———*

Prud. Cathemer. v.

So **PAPULINUS** on the Birth-day of *S. Felix*.

*— Et in servos caelestia dona profudit
Spiratum ab Unigena Sanctum & Patre procedentem.*

*— On us his Spirit he bestows
That both from Son and Father flows.*

But before this, in the Year CCCC, the first Council of *Toledo* drew up a Confession of Faith, wherein they thus assert the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. *Credimus Spiritum quoque esse Paracletum, qui nec Pater sit ipse, nec Filius, sed a Patre Filioque procedens. Est ergo ingenuus Pater, genitus Filius, non genitus Paracletus, sed a Patre Filioque procedens. We believe also that the Holy Ghost is the Comforter, who neither is the Father himself, nor the Son, but proceeding from Father and Son. Therefore the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Comforter not begotten, but proceeding from Father and Son. This indeed was but a Provincial Council, but however it shew'd the Faith of the Church in that Age: A few Years after A. D. CCCXII the same was confirmed by the Council of *Bracar*; by the third Council of *Toledo*, A. D. CCCCLXXXIX; by the fourth Council of *Toledo*, A. D. DCXXXIII; by the eighth Council of *Toledo*, A. D. DCLIII; by the eleventh Council of the same Place, A. D. DCC; all held before the time the Greeks formally separated from the Latins.*

So that whatsoever is of one Substance, Majesty and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and Eternal God. *cum Patre & Filio essentia, majestatis & gloria, verus ac eternus Deus.*

is neither read therein, nor may be proved thereby, altho' it be sometime received of the Faithful as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness, yet no Man ought to be constrained to believe it as an Article of Faith, or reputed requisite to the necessity of Salvation.

Holy Ghost the true God. *c Of one Substance, &c. very and Eternal God.]* These Words are here added to shew, that the Holy Ghost is not a nominal and titular God, a Creature of extraordinary Excellence, which is advanced to the Divine Honours, but the Real, True and Eternal God. Now for establishing the Truth of this Assertion, it will be requisite shortly to mention the Arguments which Divines both Antient and Modern have made use of, which do clearly make out what is here laid down.

I. The Holy Ghost is very and true God, Because he is expressly called so in the Holy Scriptures. For when Peter said, *Ananias, Why hath Satan filled thine Heart to lie to the Holy Ghost;* he shewing the grievousness of his Offence saith, *Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine Heart, thou hast not lied unto Men but unto God?* From whence it is plain that the Person whom he had lied unto, viz. the Holy Ghost, was God. From which Passage of Scripture Epiphanius very well concludes the Deity of the Holy Ghost. *Ἀγαθὸς θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν, καὶ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ ἐξέφυσαντο οἱ τρεῖς τιμήματα τῆς χάριτος νοσοισάμενοι.* The Holy Ghost is God of God, and very God, to whom they who had misapplied the price the Field was sold for, lied. Epiph. Hær. lxxiv.

II. The Holy Ghost is very and true God, Because he is set upon the Level with the Father and Son in the Form prescribed for the Administration of Baptism, Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But if the Holy Ghost were not really God, this would be such a sacrilegious advance of his Dignity, as nothing could warrant. For thus Theodoret argues upon this subject. *Ἐὰν ὁ Χριστὸς ἔχῃ φύσιν ὁμοῦν ἢ τὸ παράγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ ἂν συνεισθμύθησαν τῷ κακῷ λόγῳ θεῶν κατήγοροισι καὶ οἱ θεοὶ λόγοι τῷ λελατρευκότων τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὴν κτίσαντα.* If the Son or the Holy Ghost had a created Nature, they would not be set on a Level with the Creator. For the Holy Scriptures do blame those who serve the Creature, instead of the Creator. Theod. v. contr. Hær.

The like is said by Athanasius. *Ποία γὰρ κοινωνία τῷ κτίσματι περὶ κτίστην; διὰ τί τὸ πεποιημένον συναριθμεῖται τῷ ποιήσαντι εἰς τὸ πᾶντων τελείωσιν.* What Society or Communion has the Creature with the Creator? how should that which is made be reckoned at the same time with Infinite Perfection? Athan. Or. iii. contr. Ar.

III. The Holy Ghost is real and true God, Because the divine Attributes, as that of Omniscience or knowing all things, Omnipresence, &c. are ascribed to him. For he is said to dwell in us, 1 Cor. iii. 16. and to search out the hidden things of God, 1 Cor. ii. 10. Whereupon Athanasius observes, no Inferior can search out the Secrets of a Superior. Athan. Epist. ad Serap.

The like he argues from his Sanctification. *Μηδὲ μέτοχον ἀγιάσεως ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μέτεκτον ὅν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ κτίσματα πάντα ἀγιάσεται. πῶς ἂν ἔιν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα, ἢ ἴδιον αὐτῇ μετέχοντων αὐτῇ;* Now if that which is not sanctified by another, but does impart Sanctification by which all other Creatures are sanctified, shall that be reduced to the Condition of created beings? ibid.

And so likewise S. Ambrose. *Divina solius est potestatis arcana novisse. It belongs to the divine Power to search out hidden things.* Ambr. de Spir. Sanct. Lib.

IV. Because we are said in Scripture to be his Temples, which is a plain Allusion to his Deity; Temples being dedicated to none but those, who are Partakers of the divine Nature. For thus the Apostle, Know you not, that your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. vi. 19. And again, Know ye not that ye are the Temple of the Holy Ghost, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? 1 Cor. iii. 16. Upon which Consideration S. Basil asks the Question. *Ἀγαθὸν τὸ δουλεῖν δικτηρίον καὶ δέξασθαι αὐτὸν αὐτὸν τῷ τῷ ναῦ πρὸς ἡγορία τιμῆσαι;* Do you think that this Expression imports no more than a servile Inhabitation? Bas. de Sp. Sanct. cap. 21. And S. Cyril makes this to be one of the divine Properties, which is ascribed to the Holy Ghost. *Ὡς ἰδὲν αὐτῷ γεννητῶν ἢ πεποιημένων, ὡς θεός, ἐν ναῷ λέγεται κατοικεῖν μόνος ὁ ὁ θεὸς φύσεως καὶ τὸ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχειται.* There is nothing that is born or made which does dwell, as a God, in a Temple; for this with others is a Property only of the divine Nature, Cyr. Thef. Lib. xxiv.

V. Because the Sin committed against him is irremissible. All manner of Sin and Blasphemy shall be forgiven unto Men, against him is irremissible. But the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto Men, Mat. xii. 31. From whence S. Ambrose thus Reasons. *Quomodo igitur inter creaturas audet quisquam Spiritum computare? Aut quis sic se obligat, ut si creatura derogaverit, non putet sibi hoc aliqua venia relaxandum?* How therefore shall any one dare to reckon the Holy Ghost among Creatures? Or how can any one be bound, for an Offence against a Creature, as never to be released? Ambr. de Spir. Sanct. Lib. i. cap. 3.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE VI.

VI. The Old Testament is not to be refused.

Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

VI. De Divinis Scripturis, quod sufficient ad Salutem.

The Old Testament is not to be put away as though it were contrary to the New, but to be kept

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation: So that whatsoever is

Scriptura Sacra continet omnia, quae ad salutem sunt necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur,

a *All things Necessary*.] The Compilers of our Articles, having in the foregoing Articles laid down the main Branches of the Christian Faith, proceed now to establish the Rule thereof. And here begins our avowed Difference with the Church of Rome. They assert, that the Books of Holy Scripture, though divinely inspired, were occasionally only written, and do not contain the whole Rule of Faith, many other Doctrines of the Apostles being delivered by Word of Mouth were conveyed down to us by Oral Tradition: We on the contrary assert, that the Holy Scriptures are a compleat Rule of Faith, and whatever is not contained therein is not necessary to be believed by any Christian Man.

That the Holy Scriptures are a compleat Rule of Faith.

This Truth is proved,

Scriptures a compleat Rule of Faith, proved by Scripture.

I. By the Authority of the Holy Scriptures themselves. And this is so plainly laid down therein, that nothing but strange Prejudice, and Resolution to support a Cause, could contradict it. Those words of S. Paul are very full to this purpose. *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works,* 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. Moses expressly forbids, *That any one should add unto the words that I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it,* Deut. iv. 2. *Whatsoever I command unto you to observe and do it, thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it,* Deut. xii. 32. The same Prohibition is given out in the New Testament. For S. John closing his Book of the Revelation, and with that our Christian Canon (so that it may not improbably seem to bear relation to the whole New Testament) forbids any Addition or Diminution, with a Cause annexed to it. *If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this Book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the Book of this Prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the Book of life, and out of the holy City, and from the things which are written in this Book,* Rev. xxii. 18, 19. But the Substance of this had been before declared by S. Paul. *But, though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed,* Gal. i. 8. And as for the endeavour of some to piece out God's written Word by Tradition, our Saviour warns us against this, when he blames the Pharisees for it, *viz. in teaching for doctrines the Commandments of men,* Mat. xv. 9. and making the Commandment of God of none effect by their Traditions, v. 3.

By Reason.

II. By Reason, drawn from the Nature of the thing, and the whole Order of the gracious Dispensation of the Gospel, which God hath been pleased to bless Mankind with, this is no more than we might expect. For our Saviour having first made known the Gospel to the World by his own Preaching and Suffering, and propagated it throughout the several Parts thereof by the Preaching of his Apostles, in order to be convey'd down to successive Generations; this could not well be effected without a written Word. For to have delivered down the Gospel Truths by Word of Mouth, or Oral Tradition, would have made it subject to as many Errors, as the Prejudices, Fancies and Mistakes

of the several Relaters could have given it. Now since God has been pleased to make use of this Method to convey those Truths which he has revealed to us, it is but reasonable to think, that all the Truth, which he has judged necessary for our Salvation, and which he has required of us to believe, are contained in this written Word; for why God should leave some of the Gospel Truths to be conveyed in a purer, and others in a more corrupt Channel, some by Scripture and others by Tradition, is unaccountable: Why, since he designed the Scriptures to be in some Measure the Rule of Faith, he should not at the same time render it a compleat one; why this Divine Law of God must be eked out by Human Traditions, which have been uncertain in the best Times, and pernicious in some, and which strangely vary according to different Countries and Ages. These Notions do highly reflect upon the Divine Wisdom and Goodness, and are taken up only to defend the corrupt Practices of the Roman Church, which they are resolved to maintain at any rate rather than to part with.

III. The like Reasons are alledged by the antient Divines of the Church; which they reduce to these general Topicks. (1.) The first is drawn from the Excellency of God's Word, which is so contrived as to be useful to Men of all Capacities and Conditions. For thus S. Basil. *Πᾶσα γραφή θεϊπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος, διὰ τὸ τοὺς γεγραμμένα παρατρεφέναι πνεύματος, ἢ ὡς περ ἐν κοινῷ τῷ ψυχῶν ἱατρείῳ πάντες ἀνθρώποι τὸ ἴαμα τῶ οὐκείῳ πάθει ἕκαστος ἐκλεγαμένα.* Every part of the Holy Scripture is divinely inspired, and profitable, it being for this end written by the Spirit, that it might be as it were a common Shop of Physick, for every one to fetch what Medicine is most proper for the Disease of his Soul. Bas. Pref. in Psal. (2.) The Compleatness of this Rule is not to be taken from any particular part of the Holy Scripture, but from the whole Canon or Collection of sacred Books. For thus S. Basil. *Ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς περὶ τὰ παιδευσι, καὶ ἀλλὰ ἰσοειδὲς, καὶ ὁ νόμος ἑτέρος, καὶ ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐδὸν τὸ παρρησιακῆς παρανέσιος.* Some things we are instructed in by the Apostles, in others by the Historians: some things the Law informs of, and other Admonitions we have from the Proverbs. Bas. ibid. (3.) They argue from the great Crime of adding to, or detracting any thing from Holy Scripture. For upon this Consideration is grounded that Argument of Tertullian. *Scriptum esse docet Hermogenis officina. Si non est Scriptum, timeat va illud adii cientibus, aut detrahentibus destinatum.* Let Hermogenes his Shop shew that this is written. But if it be not written, let him be afraid of that Curse, that is denounced against those that add any thing to, or detract any thing from God's Word. Tert. adv. Hermog. cap. xxii. S. Cyprian argues against a pretended Tradition from the same Topick. *Unde est ista Traditio? utrumne de Dominica & Evangelica autoritate descendens, an de Apostolorum mandatis, atque Epistolis veniens? Ea enim facienda esse, quae scripta sunt, Deus testatur: & ponit ad Jesum plane dicens, Non recedet Liber legis hujus ex ore tuo, sed meditaberis in eo die ac nocte, ut observes facere omnia quae scripta sunt in eo.* From whence comes this Tradition? Does it depend upon the Authority of Christ

Christ

fill; for both in the Old and New Testaments. Everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard,

not^b read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not be required of any Man, that it should be believed * as an Article of Faith, or be thought † requisite or necessary to Salvation. In the name * of the Holy Scripture we do under-

neque inde probari potest, non sit a quocquam exigendum, ut tanquam Articulus Fidei credatur, aut ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur. Sacra Scriptura nomine, eos Canonicos Libros veteris & novi Testamenti intel-

* As an Article of the Faith. MS. CCCC. 1571.

† Requisite as necessary to Salvation. MS. CCCC. 1571.

* Of Holy Scripture. MS. CCCC. 1571.

Christ or the Gospels, is it grounded on the Precepts or Epistles of the Apostles? For God himself witnesses, that we are to do those things that are written, and he puts it to Joshua the Son of Nun saying, The Book of this Law shall not depart from thy Mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, &c. Cyr. ad Pomp. Ep. ed. Pam. lxxiv. S. Chrysostom stands so steadily for the Compleatness of the Scripture as a Rule of Faith and Life, that he reckons him a Thief, that pretends to advance any other. Ο γὰρ μὴ ταῖς γραφαῖς χρῶμεθα. καὶ ἀναβαίνων ἀλλοχόθεν, τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐτίθεσθαι ἐαυτῷ καὶ μὴ νομιμισμένην τέμναν ὁδόν. ἔτι καὶ κλέπτειν δοκεῖ. He that does not make use of the holy Scriptures, but goes aside into another Road, leaving the common way, the same is a Thief. Chrys. in Joh. x.

b May not be proved.] These Words likewise are added in Opposition to the Roman Church, which allow Articles of Faith to be founded upon Tradition; but we on the contrary assert that all Doctrines of Faith and Life, and whatsoever is taught in the Church as a Divine Doctrine, ought to be founded upon the Holy Scriptures. This Opinion of ours we ground upon the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures themselves.

All Doctrines to be proved by Scripture.

This proved out of God's Word.

I. Our Saviour informs us, that the end of enditing the Sacred Books was to lay down the Foundation of Christians Faith. These things are written that ye might believe, &c. and that in believing ye might have life through his name, John xx. 31. Which if true of the Books of the Old Testament, are much more so of the New. For these were written by those Apostles who were the Friends and Associates of our Blessed Saviour, whom he fully informed of his Will; of whom our Saviour thus speaks, I have called you friends; because all things which I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you, John xv. 15. They were written by Persons who had not only the Advantage of this Information, but were under the immediate Direction of the unerring Spirit of God. But the Comforter which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you, John xiv. 26.

By Reason.

II. We have very good Reason to believe, that all things necessary to Salvation should be contained in Scripture; for as these are but few in number, so is it but reasonable to think they are contained some where or other in the Holy Scriptures. For whereas there are several things mixed in those Sacred Books, which are not plainly necessary to Salvation, but are only useful Truths, which the Holy Spirit has thought proper for our Spiritual Improvement, that we should be informed of; we cannot think, that any things, which are absolutely necessary for our Salvation, should be omitted.

Arguments of the Fathers.

I. From the Conviction which the Holy Scriptures carry.

III. The antient Divines of the Church were of the same Opinion. Which they confirm by arguing some several very excellent Topicks. (1.) Because the Doctrines which are confirmed by the Holy Scriptures carry the greatest force of Persuasion with them,

and which all Believers cannot but assent to. For thus Origen upon the Third of the Romans. Post hac vero, ut ei moris est, &c. After this S. Paul according to his Custom, proves what he said out of the Holy Scriptures: thereby giving an example to the Doctors of the Church, that those things which they teach the People, should not be built upon their own Opinions, but should depend upon the divine Testimonies. For if so great an Apostle does not think it fit, that Men should rely upon his Words, unless he prove what he said to be written in the Law and the Prophets: how much rather ought we little Persons to observe this, that, when we teach, we do not deliver our own Opinions, but those of the Holy Ghost? To like purpose S. Basil. Δὲ πᾶν ῥῆμα ἢ περὶ μαρτυρεῖται τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εἰς πληροφροσύνην καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἀποδείκνυται. Every thing that is done or said ought to be confirmed by the Testimony of the Holy Scripture: as well to the full and perfect Persuasion of good Men, as the Confusion of ill Men. Bas. Eth. Def. xxvi. So likewise Clement of Alexandria. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἀποφανόμενοι ἀνθρώποις περὶ τοῦτο, οἷς καὶ ἀναποδείκνυται ἐπ' ἰσχύος ἔχουσιν, ἐν δ' ἐκ ἀρκῆ μόνον ἀπλῶς εἰπὼν τὸ δόξαν, ἀλλὰ πιστώσας δὲ τὸ λεχθὲν, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀναμείνωμεν μαρτυρίαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς κυρίου φωνῇ πιστώμεθα τὸ ζητούμενον, ἢ πᾶσιν ἀποδείξωμεν ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ μόνον ἀποδείξωμεν ὅσα τυγχάνει. It is not reasonable that we should assent to Mens simple Words: against which we may justly oppose our Assertion. But if it be not sufficient only to say that which is barely probable, but we ought likewise to gain assent to what we say, let us not content our selves with Testimonies from Men, but let us confirm that which comes into Question by the Word of God, which is the most certain of all Demonstrations, nay which only is Demonstration. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. (2.) Because this is the best way of confuting any Heretical Opinions which arise. For thus Tertullian futed by them. reasons. Ausser Hereticis, quæ aut Ethnicis sapiunt, ut de Scripturis solis quæstiones suas fistant, et stare non poterunt. Take away from the Hereticks their Pagan Doctrines, and let them state their Doctrines according to the Holy Scriptures, and they will not be able to stand. Tertul. de Refur. Carn. cap. iii. S. Basil having declared the former Unfruitfulness of his Labours in opposing the Hereticks by Arguments drawn from Reason, declares, for the future, his Resolution in attacking them with Scripture. Νῦν δὲ περὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἡμῶν τε καὶ ὑμῶν σκοπὸν ἀρμολογῶν ἐλογισάμεν ἐν ἀπλότητι τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν πίστιν, τὸ ἐπιταγμὰ τὸ ὑμετέρας ἐν χειρὶ ἀγάπης πληρῶσαι, εἰπὼν αὖ ἐκ δαχθῆν παρὰ τὴν θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς φειδόμενοι καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐκείνων ἀλίξομεν καὶ αὐταῖς ἐκ ἐμφορεται τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, διανοίαν γὰρ μὴν ἐκείνην καὶ ἐγκαιμένην τῇ γραφῇ διασώζει ὅσα δὲ περὶ τῶν ξένων καὶ ἀλίξεως, ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ξένον ἡμῖν ἐπιστάγει καὶ ἀπὸ ὧν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας κηρυσσόμενα εὐαγγέλιον, ταῦτα αὖς ξένα καὶ ἀλλότεια τὴν εὐσεβῆς πίστεως παντάπασιν παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν. Now accommodating my self to my own and your Profession, I have resolved in the Simplicity of the Faith, to fulfil the command of your love in Christ, to speak those things which I have learned from the Holy Scriptures: abstaining from those Names and Words which are not contained in Scripture, although they retain the Sense of Scriptures. For those, besides the novelty of the Expression, are apt to induce a new Meaning, and are not found to be preached by the Apostles; therefore I will avoid these as foreign Words, and

which feign that the Old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.

stand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose Authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

d Genesis.

3. Because all other Testimonies are fallible.

and distant from the Holy Faith. Basil. Hom. de fide. (3.) Because all other Testimonies are fallible. And thus S. Cyril of Jerusalem argues. Μη τὰς ἐμὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς περὶ τοῦ θύματος ἱστορίας καταστροφῇ ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὴ περὶ τῶν περὶ ἐκείνου περὶ ματ' ὁ δὲ μαρτυρεῖται, μὴ πείσῃ τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν παθόντων, καὶ τῶν τιμῶν καὶ τῶν χρεών, καὶ τῶν τελευτῶν μαρτυρεῖται. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸν ὑμῶν μὴ παραδείξῃ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων μαρτυρεῖται. Do not give heed to my Words, for you may be deceived: nay unless I bring my vouchers for every thing I say, do not believe me: unless you have Proof out of Scripture of the Virgin, of the Place, of the Time and the Manner, do not

4. Because this is the best way of ending Controversies.

admit the Testimony of Man. Cyr. Catech. xii. (4.) Because this is the best way of ending Controversies. S. Austin sets the Authority of these above that of the greatest Councils. Sed nunc nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense tanquam præjudicaturus proferre Concilium. Neque ego hujus autoritate, neque tu illius delinqueris. Scripturarum autoritatem, non quorumcunque propriis, sed utrisque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet. I ought not to appeal to the Nicene Council, nor you to that of Ariminum, as being prejudiced in favour of that. I am not swayed by the Authority of the one, nor you of the other. Making use of the Authority of the Scriptures, which are common Witnesses to us both, let us set Controversie against Controversie, Cause against Cause, Reason against Reason. Aug. contr. Maxim. Lib. iii. cap. 14. The Great Emperor Constantine proposed these as the best Rule for Faith, in the Council of Nice. Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ βιβλίον καὶ ἀποστολικὰ καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ περὶ τῶν τὰ θεοτόκιστα, σαφὲς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκπαιδεύει. The Gospels and the Books of the Apostles, and the Oracles of the ancient Prophets, can best instruct us what we ought to believe of the divine Nature. Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 7.

c Canonical Books.] They are called Canonical Books from the Greek word Κανὼν, which signifies in the Church Language a Catalogue. For among the Ecclesiastical Writers, sometimes Κανὼν signifies the Catalogue or Roll of the Clergy, whose Names were entered, at their Ordination, into the Church Books. Thus in the xviii. Canon of the Council of Nice, Οἱ ἐν τῷ Κανὼνι καταγεγραμμένοι: They who are reckoned up in the Catalogue of the Clergy. In like manner the Catalogue of the Sacred Books, which were reckoned of undoubted Authority in the Church, was called the Κανὼν or the Canon. The most ancient of these Catalogues or Canons now extant is that of Melito Bishop of Sardis in the second Century, recorded in the fourth Book of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History; who writ it to Onesimus, who had desired him to give him Information concerning the number and order of the Books of the Old Testament, as he had learned from the Churches of the East. With which agrees the Catalogue given in the lixth Canon of the Council of Laodicea. Another in the xxxixth Epistle of Athanasius: one in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. iv.

d GENESIS.] This Book, in Conjunction with the other four following, is called by the Name of the Pentateuch, which Word in the Greek Tongue signifies the five Volumes. That they were written by Moses, whose Name they bear, is agreed upon by the universal Consent, not only of Jewish and Christian, but even of Heathen

ligimus, de quorum autoritate, in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.

De nominibus & numero Librorum Sacrae Canonicae Scripturae veteris Testamenti.

Genesis.

Writers. For these are owned as Moses his Books by Manetho, who wrote a Greek History of Egypt, as he is cited by Josephus, contr. Ap. Lib. i. which Author lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, 250 Years before Christ. They are attributed to Moses by Philochorus Atheniensis, cited by Justin Martyr, Exhor. ad Gen. which Writer lived under Ptol. Philopator, 180 Years before Christ. Apollonius Molo, another ancient Greek Author, quoted by Josephus, contr. Ap. as also Alexander Polyhistor, in Eusebius, Præp. Evang. ascribe these Books to him. So likewise do Strabo, Lib. xvi. Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. xxx. c. 2. Tacitus, Hist. Lib. v. Juvenal, Sat. 14. And when Longinus says of Moses, for the Sublimity of his Expression, that he was ἄνθρωπος ἀνὸς, a Man not of the ordinary size of Understanding; and also when Numenius styles Plato, Atticizing Moses, they did most undoubtedly attribute these Books to Moses. To say nothing of the constant Reception of these Books, as the Mosical, in the Jewish Church and Nation; or of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which is written in Characters which have not been used since the Jewish Captivity, in which these Books bear the Name of Moses. Nor lastly, to insist upon the Septuagint Translation, which Version was made 250 Years before Christ, and which renders these into Greek, as Moses's Books. For, though there were none of these Authorities to vouch for this ancient Writer, the bare Testimony of our Saviour were sufficient. If ye believed Moses you would have believed me, for he wrote of me, John v. 46. To which we may add that of Philip to Nathaniel, We have found him of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets, did write, John i. 45. So S. Luke, in his relation of our Saviour's Discourse in the Journey to Emmaus, says, Luke xxiv. 27. that beginning at Moses, &c. i. e. the Pentateuch, or Books writ by Moses. So that, without bringing to the account the constant and uninterrupted Consent, in this Matter, of the Jewish and Christian Churches, for so many thousand Years, hardly a Book in the World was, with more universal Agreement, attributed to the Author, whose Name it bears, than those Books of Moses. It must be owned that some small Additions have been made to them since Moses's Time; as for Instance, the Passage in the close of the Book of Deuteronomy, concerning the Death of Moses, which is generally thought to be added by Josua, who succeeded him in the Prophecy, as well as the Government. And possibly some marginal Annotations, formerly affixed to the sides of a very ancient Copy, have since got into the Text, as Gen. xiv. 10. Dan is put for Lais; as also a few other Modern, and more known Names, may be put for the Ancient and more obscure. Which has given occasion to some irreligious Persons, to question Moses's being the Author of the Book. Which Objections, as they are frivolous, so they have been over and over again answered by learned Men. The first of these Books is, in the Hebrew Copies, called Bereshith, (i. e.) In the beginning, so named from the first Word of the Book; in the Greek, Latin, and most other Translations, it is called Genesis, or the Book of the Generation, because it gives an account of the Genesis, or Formation of the World, as also of the Succession of the first Families of Mankind.

Some are of Opinion that Moses wrote this Book, when he was an Exile in Midian, Exod. ii. 15, to raise up the dejected Spirit of the Jews, under Pharaoh's Oppression. But 'tis most probable, that he wrote it in the Wilderness of Sinai, whilst, under the Divine Directions, he was forming that Sacred Commonwealth: Nor is it probable, that every part of the History was revealed to him as a Matter perfectly New, and that Moses was the first Writer that ever

was;

^c Exodus. ^f Leviticus. ^g Numbers.

^h Deuteronomy. ⁱ Joshua. ^k Judges.

Ruth. ^l The first Book of Samuel. The second Book of Samuel.

^m The first Book of Kings. The second Book of Kings. The first Book of Chronicles. The second Book of Chronicles.

Exodus. Leviticus.

Numeri. Deuterono.

Josue. Judicum.

Ruth. Prior Liber

Samuelis. Secundus

Liber Samuelis. Pri-

or Liber Regum. Se-

cundus Liber Regum.

Prior Liber Para-

lipom. Secundus Li-

ber Paralipom.

was; it is more just to think, that he made use of some short Memoirs written before his Time, probably contained in ancient Hymns and Genealogical Tables, kept among the principal Families of the Jews, which he inserted into his History; the whole Work being carried on, under the particular Conduct and Direction of the Holy Spirit of God. It is certain, this is, by far, the most antient Book in the World now extant. It was written near 1500 Years before Christ, and almost 600 Years before Homer, the most antient of all the Greek Writers now remaining. For, as for the Pieces ascribed to *Trismegistus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, &c. they are but Forgeries of later Ages; nor were the Authors themselves, which they were ascribed to, by much so antient as *Moses*.

E X O D U S.] This Book is called so from the Greek Word *ἔξοδος*, which signifies the *Going out*; because it chiefly Treats of the *Israelites* going out of *Agypt*; and therefore in the Scriptural Catalogue in the Council of *Laodicea*, it is more expressly called, *ἔξοδος καὶ ἀγίου*. That this Book was written by *Moses* at the positive Command of God is clear from these Passages in this Book. *Write this for a memorial in a Book*, &c. *Exod. xvii. 14.* And *Moses wrote all the words of the Lord*, &c. *Exod. xxiv. 4.* And the Lord said unto *Moses*, *write thou these words*, &c. *Exod. xxxiv. 27.* Besides there is further weight added to the Authority of this Book, because several Passages thereof are cited by our Saviour himself in the fifth of *S. Matthew*.

L E V I T I C U S.] This Book was written by *Moses*, soon after the rearing of the Tabernacle, which was the first Month of the second Year after the going out of *Agypt*, *Exod. xl. 17.* for then God began to speak to *Moses*, not out of Mount *Sinai*, as when the Tables of the Law were given, but out of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, *Lev. i. 1.* several Passages of this Book are cited in the New Testament. The Law concerning the Leprous Person, *Lev. xiii. 14.* is mentioned *Luke v. 14.* The *Lex Talionis*, *Lev. xxiv. 20.* is referred to *Mat. v. 18.*

N U M B E R S.] This Book contains the History of the *Israelitish* Affairs, from the second Year of their going out of *Agypt* to the last Year of *Moses* his Life, that is about 38 Years of the 40, which they travelled about in the Wilderness. For in the eleventh month of the fortieth year the Book of *Deuteronomy* was begun to be written, *Deut. i. 3.* Passages out of this Book are mentioned in the New Testament. As the Brazen Serpent, *Num. xx.* is mentioned by our Saviour, *John iii. 14.* and by *S. Paul*, *1 Cor. x. 9.*

D E U T E R O N O M Y.] This Book was written by *Moses* in the last Year of his Life. It was first delivered to the *Israelites* by Word of Mouth, and afterwards put into writing by him; as we learn *Deut. xxxi. 9.* And *Moses wrote this Law, and delivered it to the Priests the Sons of Levi*, &c. It is a Compendium, or shorter Explanation of the Law, which had been delivered in the former Books; and for that Reason is called by the Greeks *Δευτερονόμιον* or the second Law. Passages out of it are cited, *Mat. xii. 11.* *Mat. xviii. 16.* *Luke x. 26.* *Mark xii. 19.* The last Chapter, which treats of *Moses* his Death, is supposed to be written by *Josuah*, who was Successor to *Moses* in the Prophecies.

J O S U A H.] That this Book was written by *Josuah* is expressly attested, *Jos. xxiv. 26.* And *Josuah wrote these words in the Book of the Law of God*, &c. i. e. he

joined the History of his Time to the Transactions formerly written by *Moses*. The Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* attributes this Book to him. *Jesus the Son of Nane was valiant in the Wars, and Successor of Moses in the Prophecies*, *Eccl. xlv. 1.* A Passage of this Book is quoted by the Writer of the Book of *Kings*, *1 Kings xvi. 34.* *In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest Son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Josuah the Son of Nun.* Which manifestly refers to the saying of *Josuah*, *Cursed be the man before the Lord, that raiseth up and buildeth this City Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest Son he shall set up the gates of it*, *Jos. vi. 26.* The History of *Raah* recorded in this Book is referred to *Heb. xi. 30.* and *Jam. ii. 25.*

J U D G E S. R U T H.] The Book of *Judges*, to which the Book of *Ruth* is a little Appendix, is not without probability attributed by the Jews to *Samuel*. For, whereas he was for many Years at the Head of the Jewish Affairs, and settled their Church and Common-wealth which had long lay in disorder, 'tis not likely that he should neglect to gather together their History from their first Settlement in *Canaan*, out of antient and dispersed Memoirs. However that the Book of *Judges* is very antient is clear; because it is alluded to in a *Psalms* of *David*, which he made upon removing the Ark. *When thou wentest forth before the People, when thou didst march through the wilderness; the earth shook, the heavens also dropped at the presence of God.* Which Words are an exact Imitation of *Judges v. 4.* *Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water.* Immediately after the Psalmist says, *That the mountain of Sinai was moved at the presence of the God of Israel:* Which Words are likewise copied from the Words which follow, in the foresaid Chapter of *Judges*. *The mountains melted from before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the God of Jacob.*

1 S A M U E L.] It is not certain who the Author of these Books were. But it is not without Probability asserted by the Jewish Writers, that the first twenty four Chapters were written by *Samuel* himself, and the rest by the Prophets *Nathan* and *Gad*. But there do not want evident Marks of the Antiquity of these Books. For they are referred to *Psal. cxiii. 7.* where a Passage of *Hannah's* Song is transcribed. *He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with Princes, even the Princes of his People.* Which passage in *1 Sam. ii. 8.* is thus. *He raiseth the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dungil, to set them among Princes, and to make them inherit the throne of Glory.* The History of these Books is likewise referred to *1 Kings xx. 27.* So *Solomon* thrust out *Abiathar* from being Priest unto the Lord, that he might fulfil the word of the Lord, which he spake concerning the house of *Eli* in *Shilo*. See *1 Sam. ii. 31.*

K I N G S. C H R O N I C L E S.] It is uncertain whether the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were put into the Form, they now stand in, before, or after the Captivity. It is probable they were collected after the Return, out of Memoirs that were written before; *Esdras* himself either performing or supervising the Compilation. Now the Books being at first written by Men of a Prophetick Spirit, they were not less the Word of God, by being put into another Form, especially by one who

ⁿ *The first Book of Esdras. The second Book of Esdras.* ^o *The Book of Hester.* ^p *The Book of Job.* ^q *The Psalms.* ^r *The Proverbs. Ecclesiastes or Preacher. Cantica or Song of Solomon.*

Primus Liber Esdræ. Secundus Liber Esdræ. Liber Hester. Liber Job. Psalmi. Proverbia. Ecclesiastes vel Concionator. Cantica Solomonis.

who was a Prophet himself, as *Esdras* was. Nay, so over scrupulous this Compiler, whoever he was, seems to be, that he takes the very Words of the antient Prophets, out of whose Memoirs he composed these Books, as is evident from 2 *Chron.* v. 5. where the Introduction of the Ark into the Oracle is thus described, and it is said, *There it is unto this Day.* Now either the Books of the *Chronicles* were written before the Captivity, under the first Temple, when the Ark was there; or else *Esdras*, or whoever the Compiler was, made use of the very words of the antienter Prophet, out of whom he transcribed this Work. Either of which Suppositions give sufficient Authority to these Books. For if the Author lived before the Captivity, he was an Eye-witness of many of the Matters of Fact he relates; and if he lived after, we see he is so just to his Original Authors, as not to vary a tittle from their Words. All that *Esdras* (or whoever else the Compiler was) added of his own, were some Genealogical Observations at the beginning of the *Chronicles*, and some other Passages of little Moment, which relate to the times after the Captivity. The Authority of these Books is established, by being cited in the New Testament. The History of *Elijah* and the Woman of *Sarepta*, 1 *Kings* xvii. is mentioned *Luke* iv. 25. that of *Naaman* the *Assyrian*, 2 *Kings* v. 14. is referred to *Luke* v. 25. And 1 *Pet.* 1. 17. is taken out of 2 *Chron.* xix. 7.

ⁿ *First Book of ESDRAS.*] This is what we call in our English Bibles (according to the Hebrew Copies) the Book of *Ezra*. And this Book, all but the first six Chapters, was composed by him. For *Ezra* speaks expressly in his own Person, as Chap. vii. ver. 27. *Blessed be the Lord God of our Fathers, which has put such a thing into the Kings heart, to beautify the house of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem, &c.*

The second Book of *ESDRAS*, as it is called in some Copies, was written by *Nehemiah*, whose Name it bears in the Hebrew, and the Jewish Church has always attributed it to him. The Son of *Sirach* mentions his building the Walls of *Jerusalem*, recited in that History. *And among the elect was Nehemias, whose renown was great, who raised up for us the Walls that were fallen, and set up the Gates and the Bars, and raised up our ruins again,* *Eccl.* xlix. 13. And 'tis plain, that the Book of *Nehemiah* was not only received into the Jewish Canon, but went under *Nehemiah* his Name, when the Books of the *Maccabees* were written, as is evident from 2 *Mac.* ii. 13. *The same things were also reported in the Writings and Commentaries of Nehemias, and how he founding a Library, gathered together the Acts of the Kings and the Prophets, and of David, and the Epistles of the Kings concerning the holy Gifts.*

^o *H E S T E R.*] This Book was received into the Jewish, and into most of the Christian Canons; though it be not contained in the Catalogues of *Melito*, *Athanasius*, or that of *Nazianzen*. Some of the Jews ascribe it to no certain Author, but will have it to be drawn up by Order of the Synagogue, to which *Mordechai* wrote, cap. ix. some will have it to be written by *Mordechai* himself, which seems most probable, from these words, *And Mordecai wrote these things;* ver. 20.

^p *J O B.*] The Author of the Book of *Job* is uncertain, but being received into the Jewish Canon, it must be supposed to be written by an inspired Writer. The Author of it, whoever he be, is very antient, and lived, as is most probable, before the Promulgation of the Jewish Law; for there are not any Traces to be found of the Mosaic Precepts in the whole Book; nay we may find some things contrary to them, as particularly *Job's* offering Sacrifice himself, after the Patriarchal manner, which was allowed only to the Priests under the judaical Law. It is

not improbable, which some conjecture, that it was written by *Moses* during his abode in *Agypt*, or in his flight into the Land of *Midian*, before he had promulged the Judaical Law: and his design might be to hearten up the Jews under the Severities of the *Agyptian* Bondage, by shewing the gracious Desigus of God's Providence, and that he oftentimes lays his sharpest Afflictions upon his best Servants. That the whole Story is an Allegorical Fable must in no wise be allowed: for the Testimonies of *Ezechiel* and *S. James*, who mention *Job* as a real Person, prove the contrary of this Opinion. Nay, from hence it appears, that the Book of *Job* was generally read among the Jews in *Ezechiel's* time, which was before the composing of *Esdras* his Canon.

^q *P S A L M S.*] The *Psalms* are no late Composition; most of them being written before the Captivity. Indeed we ought not, as some do, to attribute them all to *David*; when their several Titles do allot them to other Authors, although a great share of them are owing to that inspired Prince. It is certain that in the antientest Times, both after and before the Deluge, holy Men were wont to sing the Praises of God, for singular Mercies received, in Hymns; the care of composing which, Persons of good Parts and a Prophetick Spirit, were pleased to take upon themselves; as is plain in the Instances of *Moses* and *Miriam*, *Deborah*, *David*, *Solomon*, &c. The Hymns were wont, not only to be learned by pious People, as helps to their Devotion, but were delivered to the *Levites*, to be laid up in the Archives of the Temple, as *Josephus* writes, *Antiq. Lib.* iii. cap. i. and out of these the *Levites* made their Choice to sing in the Temple, upon set Occasions. Of these there was a vast number gathered together (composed by the Prophets of so many preceding Ages) in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, before the burning of it by the *Chaldeans*; for *Solomon* himself is recorded to have composed above a thousand. Of these Hymns a great many were carried into the Captivity by some devout Men, and brought back with them upon their Restoration; which, together with some others composed at *Babylon*, were by *Esdras* and the Great Synagogue formed into this Book of *Psalms*, which we now have. Besides, 'tis evident, that many of them were known to the antient Prophets, before the Captivity, by their making use of the Words of them. For a part of the first *Psalms*, is thus in a manner transcribed by *Jeremiah*, *Jer.* xvii. 7. *Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is, for he shall be as a Tree planted by the Waters, and that spreadeth out her Roots by the River; and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green, and shall not be careful in the year of draught, neither shall cease from yielding fruit.* These words in the xcviith *Psalms*, *With his right hand and holy arm hath he gotten him the victory, and all the ends of the earth have seen the Salvation of our God*, are used by the Prophet, *Is.* lii. 10. That of *Jeremiah*, *Lam.* v. 19. *Thou Lord remainest for ever, and thy Throne from Generation to Generation*, is taken out of *Psalms* ci. That of *Is.* l. 9. *They all shall wax old as a Garment*, is taken out of the cist *Psalms* likewise. From whence we may gather, that most of the *Psalms* are not only very antient Compositions, but were used very early in the Service of the Temple, which occasioned the Prophets in their Writings to make use of their Phraseology.

^r *P R O V E R B S.*] There is no doubt to be made, but that the Book of *Proverbs* (except perhaps the xxxth Chapter) was written by the King, whose Name it bears. The first twenty four Chapters seem to be the Original Collection, made by *Solomon* himself, and to be the beginning of a greater Work, which was destroyed with the Temple at the Captivity. And the following Chapters are a Collection made by others, as appears by the beginning

Four Prophets the Greater. 4 *Propheta majores.*
Twelve Prophets the Less. 12 *Propheta minores.*

hing of the twenty fifth Chapter. *The Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, King of Judah, copied out.* By the Men of Hezekiah are meant some Persons, whom the King employed for this purpose. They were probably Eliakim the Son of Hilkiab, and Shebna the Scribe, and Joash the Recorder, who were Secretaries to Hezekiah, and who might probably likewise have the Assistance of the Prophet *Isaiah*. This Collection holds to the thirtieth Chapter, which has the Title of *Agur*, but who this *Agur* was is uncertain; he does not seem to be *Solomon*, from the mean Character he gives of himself. Surely I am more brutish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man: I have neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the Holy. Prov. xxx. 10. Which is no ways agreeable to the great Wisdom God gave to *Solomon*, 1 King. iv. 29. nor indeed to that Character, which *Solomon*, in *Ecclesiastes*, gives of himself. I have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem; yea my heart hath great experience of wisdom and knowledge, Eccl. i. 16. The last Chapter, which bears the Name of *Lemuel*, must likewise be written by King *Solomon*, who either was so called by his Mother in his Childhood, or that Prince on purpose took this disguised Name. This Chapter seems to be made up of some wise Instructions, which his Mother *Bathsheba* had taught him, when he was a Child.

ECCLESIASTES is likewise, upon good grounds, ascribed to the same Royal Author. *Grotius* indeed would have it to be written by *Zerubbabel*, because of some Syriack and Chaldee words which are found therein. But it is possible that these words might have crept into the Hebrew Tongue in *Solomon's* time; or at least *Solomon*, by his Conversation with so many strange Women, might have learned them from them. But the great Character of Wisdom, which this Author lays claim to; his building Houses and planting Vineyards; his making Gardens and Fishpools; his gathering so much Silver and Gold, &c. which he speaks of Chap. i. is the peculiar Character of *Solomon*, which such a poor Prince as *Zerubbabel* could never pretend to.

THE SONG of *Solomon* is the Composition of the same Prince, the Title of this Poem declaring the same. And though some Hereticks of old, and Anabaptists of late, have looked upon it only as an ordinary Love-Song, yet the Pious in all Ages have esteemed it an Allegorical Dialogue, between God and his Church.

[Four Prophets the Greater.] The four Greater Prophets are, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*.

ISAIAH was certainly the Writer of the Prophecy which goes under his Name, because his Name is set in the beginning of the Book. Some will have him to be of Royal Extraction, and to be the Son of that *Amos* who was Brother of *Azariah*; which noble Education gave him a turn of Thought above the rest of the Prophets. That this Prophecy is older than many Parts of Scripture is evident; because almost two Chapters of it, Chap. xxxvii and xxxviii, are well nigh verbatim transcribed in the second Book of *Kings*, Chap. xix. and some Expressions made use of by *Jeremiah*, Jer. i. 2. xlviii. 4. The Passages of his Prophecy are frequently cited in the New Testament, *Luke* iv. 18. *Mark* i. 3. *Acts* viii. 32.

JEREMIAH began his Prophecies very Young, viz. under the 13th Year of *Josiah*, and continued them under the Reigns of *Jehoazab*, *Joachim*, *Jechoniah* and *Zedekiah*, throughout the Course of 40 Years; prophesying the Evil and Destruction of the City which happened in the last Year of *Zedekiah*. His Prophecy is referred to by several of the succeeding Prophets; by *Ezekiel* cap. xviii. 3, 4. xxxi. 29, 30. by *Daniel* cap. ix. 2. by the Author of the *Chronicles*, *Chron.* xxxvi. 22. by *Zechary*, cap. i. 4. As likewise by the Authors of the Books of the New Testament, *Mat.* xvi. 14. *Mat.* xi. 26. *Mark* xi. 7.

EZECHIEL was of the House of *Levi*, the Son of *Buzi* a Priest; he was carried with King *Jechoniah* into *Chaldea*, and prophesied on the Banks of the River *Chobar*, for about 20 Years. His Prophecy is so obscure and full of Mystery, that the Jews will not allow their Rabbins to explain some Parts thereof, till they are above thirty Years old. His Prophecy seems to be referred to by *Daniel*, cap. x. 13. and by *Zechary*, cap. xiii. 2. cited like-

wise by the Authors of the New Testament, *Mat.* xxiv. 29. *Job.* x. 11.

DANIEL is the Author of that Book which bears his Name; and the antient Jews did acknowledge the same, and that withal that he was an inspired Prophet, (though some of the Modern ones, among other of their Fooleries, now deny it) is evident from this Passage of *Josephus*. *Whatsoever Books Daniel left written by him, the same are read this Day with us, and we do believe from them, that Daniel had a Communication with God.* And as for the Arguments which the modern Jews use, to prove that he was not properly a Prophet, they are Fond and Silly; for let God communicate himself to him how he will, yet still he is a Prophet, because he Predicts future things, and those in so plain and express a Manner, as few of the other Prophets are herein comparable to him. And this *Josephus* was conscious of, and affirms the like. For, says he, he does not only predict future things, but limits the time in which they are to happen. And when other Prophets predict evil things, and for this reason raised the hatred of the common People against them, Daniel was the Foreteller to them of good things.

[Twelve Prophets the Less.] It is evident that the twelve Prophets were received into the Jewish Canon, when the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* was written, by this remarkable Passage. Where after Praises bestowed on *Ezekiel*, and other Prophets and Worthies of *Israel*, there are these words. And of the twelve Prophets let the Memorial be blessed, let their Bones flourish again out of their place; for they comforted Jacob, and delivered them by assured hope, *Ecclus.* iv. 10. Of these *HOSEA* prophesied in the Reigns of *Uzziah*, *Jotham* and *Hezekiah* Kings of *Judah*. He is cited in the New Testament, *Mat.* ii. 15. *Mat.* ix. 13. 1 *Cor.* xv. 4. Contemporary with him was *JOEL*, who was of the Tribe of *Reuben*, and exercised his Prophetic quality in *Bethoron*. Passages out of his Prophecy are referred to *Mat.* xxiv. 29. *Mark* xiii. 24. *Acts* ii. 17. *Rom.* x. 13. *AMOS* was a Person of ordinary Extraction, being a Shepherd of *Tekoa*, a Village belonging to the Tribe of *Judah*, and prophesied in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*. His Prophecy is referred to *Luke* vi. 24. *Rom.* v. 9. *Acts* vii. 43. *OBADIAH* is thought by some to be a *Sichemite*, *Isid. de Vit. Sanct.* cap. 44. *Epiphanius de Vit. Sanct.* cap. 15. Others think him to be that Steward of *Ahab*, who hid the hundred Prophets and fed them. His Prophecy is cited by *S. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* i. 19. *JONAH* was the Son of *Amittai*, who was likewise a Prophet of the City of *Geth* belonging to the Tribe of *Zebulun* in *Galilee*. He was sent to preach Repentance to the City of *Nimivee*; and his Book is the relation of his Journey and other Occurrences which fell in with it. This Book is quoted by *Tobit* xiv. 3. and by our Saviour himself, *Mat.* xii. 40. *MICAH* prophesied under the Reigns of *Jotham*, *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah*. His Prophecy was extant before *Jeremiah* prophesied, who mentions a Passage out of *Micah's* Prophecy, *Jer.* xxvi. *NAHUM* prophesied in the Reign of *Hezekiah* and *Manasses*. He followed *Jonah* the Prophet in his Prophetic Denunciations against the *Ninivites*. *HABAKKUK* prophesied in the Reign of *Manasses*. His Aphorism, *The Just shall live by Faith*, *Hab.* ii. 4. is famous for being several times cited by the Writers of the New Testament, *Rom.* ii. 17. *Gal.* iii. 11. *Heb.* x. 38. *ZEPHANIAH*, as the beginning of his Prophecy witnesseth, prophesied under the Reign of *Josiah*; but most probably he exercised his Prophecy towards the beginning of his Government, before he had made a Reformation in the Church, and abolished those Idolatrous Rites which had been introduced by his Father *Manasses*; for he exclaims against those, Cap. i. 4, 5, 9. *HAGGAI* prophesied about the second Year of *Darius Hystaspes*, some little time before *Zechary* began to exercise his Prophecy. He prophesied to the Jews after their Return from the Captivity, exhorting them to build the Temple, notwithstanding the Opposition which was made against it. *ZECHARY* seconded *Haggai* in his Prophecy, pursuing mostly the same Argument, exhorting his Countrymen to the rebuilding of the Temple. But many obscure Prophecies are mixed in his Book concerning future Events, which have exercised the Wits both of the Jewish and Christian Writers

And ^u the other Books (as Hierom saith) the Church doth read for Example of Life, and Instruction of Manners; * but yet it doth not apply them to establish any Doctrine. Such are these following.

Alios autem Libros (ut ait Hieronymus) legit quidem Ecclesia, ad exempla vitæ, & formandos mores: illos autem ad dogmata confirmanda, non adhibet: ut sunt,

^w The third Book of Esdras. The fourth Book of Esdras. ^x The Book of Tobias. ^y The Book of Judith. ^z The rest of the Book of Esther. ^{aa} The Book of Wisdom. Jesus the Son of Syrach. ^{bb} + Baruch the Prophet. The Song of the three Children.

Tertius Liber Esdra. Quartus Liber Esdra. Liber Tobie. Liber Judith. Reliquum Libri Hester. Liber Sapientie. Liber Jesu filii Syrach. Baruch propheta. Canticum trium puerorum.

* But yet doth it not apply, MS. CCCC. 1071.

+ Baruch, MS. CCCC. 1571.

ters. The Parts of his Prophecie are frequently cited in the New Testament, as *Mat. xxi. 4. Mar. xiv. 27. John xix. 37. Luke i. 78. M A L A C H Y*, the last of the Prophets, lived in the same time with Haggai and Zecharry, tho' a much younger Person, and exercised his Prophecie after their Decease. His famous Prophecie concerning the Forerunner of the Messias, is cited by *S. Matthew xi. 10. S. Mark i. 1. and S. Luke i. 17.*

Of the Apocryphal Books.

^u The other Books, as Hierom saith, &c.] The Place of *S. Jerom*, here referred to, is in his Preface to the Book of Proverbs. *Sicut ergo Judith & Tobie & Maccabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed eas inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit: sic & hæc duo volumina legat ad edificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. As the Church reads the Books of Judith, Tobit and the Maccabees, but doth not receive them among the Canonical Scriptures, so she may read these two Volumes, for the Edification of the People, but not for the Confirmation of Ecclesiastical Doctrines, Hier. Op. Tom. iii. ed. Frob. p. 25. Ruffinus was of the same Opinion. Sciendum tamen, quod & alii libri sunt, qui non Canonici, sed Ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt. Quæ omnia legi quidem in Ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Ceteras vero Apocryphas nominaverunt, quas in Ecclesiis legi noluerunt. It must be known that there are other Books, which are not called Canonical, but Ecclesiastical, by our Ancestors. Both which kinds they would have read in the Churches, but would not have them produced for the Confirmation of Faith. But as for the other Apocryphal Books, they would not have them read in the Churches. Ruff. Expof. Symb. And here it must be noted, that Ruffinus calls those Books Ecclesiastical, which we now call Apocryphal. So that according to the Language of those Times, there were three Ranks of the Books: The first were those which were received in the Canon, and were undoubtedly of Divine Inspiration: The second were the Books we now call the Apocrypha, but the antients called them the Ecclesiastical Books, as the Books of Judith, Tobit, &c. The third were called the Apocryphal, such as the Gospel of *S. Thomas*, of the Nazarens, &c.*

^w Third and fourth Book of Esdras.] The third Book is found in no antient Catalogue, but is in the Greek; the fourth is only in the Latin. The third is mostly a Repetition of what is related in the two first Books, (viz. *Esra* and *Nehemiah*) and the fourth filled with insignificant Dreams and Visions.

^x Tobias.] The Book of *Tobit* is wanting in all the old Catalogues; but is cited as a pious Book by many of the Antients, *Orig. Hom. xxvii. in Num. Iren. Lib. iii. cap. 34. Hil. in Psal. cxxix.*

^y Judith.] The Book of *Judith* is but little cited by the Antients: Tho' *Clement Romanus* refers to her History, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*: *Tertullian*, Lib. i. contr. Marc. and *Clement of Alexandria*, Strom. Lib. recommend her Action as Heroick; which shews that the Antients had an Esteem for this Book.

^z Rest of the Book of Esther.] The Six last Chapters of that Book are not in the Hebrew, nor were they so in *Origen's* Time. And as they contain several things of a more Modern date, appear to be the Work of some later Hellenistical Jew.

^{aa} Wisdom. Son of Syrach.] These Books are wanting in all the old Catalogues; and several of the Antients reject them, as having no Title to be owned as Canonical Scripture. Thus do *Origen*, *S. Jerom* and *Hilary*. *S. Basil* on the Proverbs looks on them as uncanonical Books; and *Theodoret*, in his Preface to the Canticles, declares himself of the same Opinion. Notwithstanding they are quoted with respect by *S. Barnabas*, *Clement Romanus*, and the other of *Alexandria*; by *Tertullian*, *S. Cyprian* and *S. Austin*.

^{bb} Baruch.] This Book is rejected out of the Number of the Canonical Books, by *S. Jerom* in his Commentary on *Jeremiah*. Nor is it to be found in the Catalogues of *Melito*, *Origen*, *Nazianzen* or *Epiphanius*. It takes a place indeed in the Catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*; and is quoted by *Clement of Alexandria*, *S. Cyprian* and some others of the Antients, under the name of *Jeremiah*; the Supposition of its being written by him, gaining it that Authority with them.

Song of the three Children.] Tho' this was not owned by the Antients for Canonical Scripture, yet they had such an Esteem for this Composition, as to use it very antiently in their publick Service of the Church. As *Ruffinus*, Lib. 2. contr. Hier. witnesseth. *S. Austin*, Aug. Hom. 35. Tom. 10. and the Council of *Toledo*, Conc. Tol. iv. can. 3.

cc The

^{cc} *The History of Susanna. Of Bell and the Dragon.* ^{dd} *The Prayer of Manasses.* ^{ee} *The first Book of Maccabees.* *The second Book of Maccabees.*

Historia Susannae. De Bel & Dracone. Oratio Manasses. Prior Liber Machabæorum. Secundus Liber Machabæorum.

^{ff} All the Books of the New Testament as they are commonly received, we do receive, * and account them Canonical.

Novi Testamenti omnes Libros (ut vulgo recepti sunt) recipimus, & habemus pro Canonicis.

* And account them for Canonical, MS. CCCC. 1571.

^{cc} *The Story of Susannah; of Bell and the Dragon.* These Histories are rejected as fabulous by many of the Antients, particularly by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*. And *S. Jerom* in his Preface upon *Daniel* is of the same Opinion. And *Theodoret*, who has commented upon *Daniel*, speaks nothing of these last Chapters, which relate these Stories. However it is plain, that these Histories were not unknown to many of the antient Writers. For *Clement* of *Alexandria* not only refers to, but commends the Action of *Susanna*, Strom. Lib. iv. and so does *Tertullian*, de Cor. Lib. iv. as likewise *S. Cyprian*, Ep. 4. *S. Austin*, Serm. cxviii. and *S. Basil*, de Spir. Sanct. cap. 7.

^{dd} *The Prayer of Manasses.* This is a serious piece of Devotion, but is of no Authority. It is neither in Hebrew nor Greek.

^{ee} *Maccabees.* The Books of the *Maccabees* are not found in any of the antient Catalogues; and are rejected from being Canonical by the best Criticks of Antiquity. *Eusebius* in his Chronicon excludes them from any Title of being Canonical Scripture. And so does *S. Jerom* in several Places. *S. Ambrose*, *Chrysostom* and others indeed quote them, but only as secular History.

Of the Books of the New Testament.

^{ff} *All the Books of the New Testament.* The Authority of the Books of the New Testament does not depend upon the Decree or Determination of any Council or Assembly, but upon the universal Consent of the Christians of all Ages and Nations since the Apostolical Times, which they have agreed to receive, as Books written by the first inspired Propagators of Christianity, and particularly by those whose Name they bear. For the four Gospels, and the fourteen Epistles of *S. Paul* were universally acknowledged. Some of the other Epistles indeed were controverted, because some particular Churches did not admit them; but after the matter was fairly debated, these were likewise accepted as Genuine. Now since all Churches did receive these Books as the Works of the inspired Apostles, it is very clear Evidence that they were written by them. For what could move such different Bodies of Men of different Nations to afford this extraordinary Esteem to these Books above others, if they had not been written by these extraordinary Men? Men of different Persuasions would not have quitted their Country Religion which they had been educated in, and have been contented to have been governed by the Rules of the Institution which these Books deliver. And thus *Origen* well argues. Πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ Βάρβαροι ἢ καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ζηλωτὰς ἔχει μυστῶν κατὰ λιπόντας τοὺς πατέρας νόμους καὶ νομιζομένους θεοῦ, καὶ τηρούσας τὴν Μωσέως νόμον, καὶ τὴν μαθητεῖαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγων· καὶ τοὺς μισομένους τὰς ἀγάλλμας περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τῶν Μωσέως νόμων περιθεμένων καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ πείρῃ τῶν μισοῦντων κινδυνεύοντων τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγων παραδεξαμένων. Both Greece, and the Barbarous all over the World, have innumerable People who, having abandoned their Country, Laws and Gods, have professed Obedience to the Laws of Moses and the Discipline of Jesus Christ. Tho' the fulfilling the Laws of Moses subjects them to the most inveterate hatred of those that worship Idols; and to profess Chri-

stianity, besides being hated, exposes Men to the danger of their Lives, Orig. Philocal. Cap. 1.

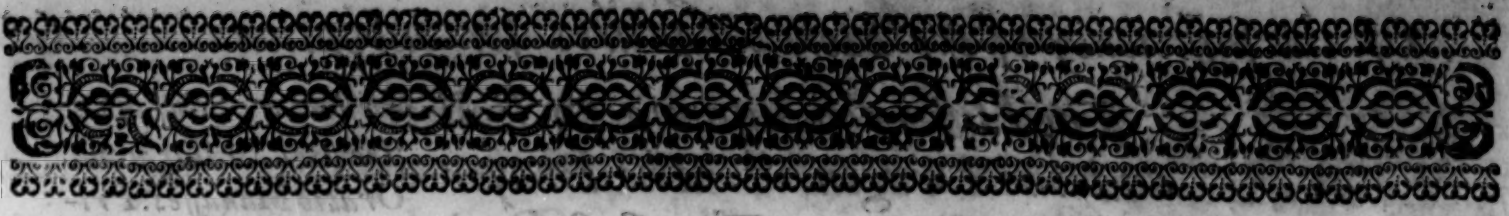
Besides, the very Originals of the Books were extant, and to be seen by any Persons whose Curiosity enquired after them, in the several Churches where they were lodged. This is evident from that remarkable Passage of *Tertullian*. Age jam qui vult curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsa adhuc cathedra Apostolorum suis locis præsidet, apud quas ipsa authentica litera eorum recitantur. You that have a mind to exercise your Curiosity, in the matter of your Salvation, run through the Apostolick Churches, where the Sees of the Apostles do still remain, and there you shall find, that their very Authentick Letters are recited. Tert. de Prescript.

The first of these Books is the Gospel according to *S. MATTHEW*, which, according to the Testimony of the most antient in the Christian Church, viz. *Papias*, *Irenæus*, &c. that Apostle wrote in Hebrew. There are Authorities brought out of this Gospel by *Clement Romanus*, by *Barnabas* in his Epistle, by *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, by *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus*: nay, this Gospel was owned by the Heretick *Cerintus*, who lived in the Apostolical times, and who rejected all the rest, because they contradicted his Heresie. It was very early translated out of the Hebrew or Syriack into the Greek, in the Apostolick time, and *S. Jerom* certifies, that in his time he saw a Copy of it in the Library of *Cæsarea*.

The Gospel according to *S. MARK* was written by a Disciple of *S. Peter*, who was a different Person from that *Mark* mentioned in the Epistles of *S. Paul*. *Irenæus* says, he composed this Gospel out of the Sermons of *S. Peter*; and others that *S. Paul* approved of it, wherefore some have called it the Gospel of *S. Peter*, as *Tertullian* writes.

The Gospel of *S. LUKE* was written by a Disciple of *S. Paul*, of that Name, a Physician by Profession, of the City of *Antioch*, and one who was well versed in the Greek Tongue. 'Tis probable, that he was no immediate Disciple of Christ, as some contend, because he says, what he wrote he learned from others. 'Tis plain from his Preface to his Gospel, that there were several other Gospels extant in his time, and probably some spurious ones: which made him, as *Eusebius* says, undertake the Evangelick History, to rescue it out of bad Hands, having been informed of the particular Circumstances of those Transactions by Eye-witnesses, and particularly being aided by the Assistance of his Tutor *S. Paul*. Therefore it is supposed, that *S. Paul* means this History, when he says, according to my Gospel; and for this reason he gives *S. Luke* this Elogium, whose praise is in the Gospel. This Gospel is quoted by *Clement Romanus*, and the Epistle of *Barnabas* has something out of it. *Irenæus* owns it, and so do the Hereticks *Cerdo* and *Marcion*, who admit of none else. The same *S. Luke* wrote *THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES*, as appears from his Preface to *Theophilus*. Besides the Antiquity of this Book is sufficiently proved, because it was rejected by the Heretick *Cerintus*, who lived in the Apostles time.

That *S. JOHN*'s GOSPEL was written by the Apostle of that Name, is the joint Voice of Antiquity. It is quoted by *Justin Martyr*, who lived in the next Age



A R T I C L E VII.

VI. The Old Testament is not to be refused.

Of the Old Testament.

VII. De veteri Testamento.

The Old Testament is not to be put away

The Old Testament is not

Testamentum vetus novo contrarium

* Only the words, Testamentum vetus novo contrarium non est quandoquidem, &c. in MS. CCC. 1562.

Age after S. John, as Authentick Scripture; and Authorities out of the same are made use of by Irenaeus. Clement of Alexandria writes, that it was a Tradition he had received from his Predecessors, that S. John last of all wrote his Gospel. Nay, the Copies of that Gospel were so common as to be viewed by the Heathens of that Age: for Amelius the Platonick Philosopher, cites the beginning of the Gospel of S. John, whom he calls That Barbarian; and he lived not above threescore or fourscore Years after S. John. He was likewise the Author of the Epistles, which go under his Name. The first of the Epistles is unanimously, by all Antiquity, allowed for Canonical Scripture, and ascribed to S. John the Apostle; and the two last were never disputed, whether they were Divine Writings, or no; but whether they were written by S. John the Apostle. Whether the Apocalypse was written by this Apostle, or by another S. John, has been a Question among some, but the general Consent of Christians has carried it for the Apostle, Vid. Jus. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. Tertul. adv. Marc. Lib. iii. Clem. Alex. apud Euseb. Lib. iii. Orig. in Mat.

The Epistles of S. PAUL were ever received with the unanimous Consent of all Christians; they were read in the Churches very early in the Apostolick times, as appears by that of S. Peter, in his second Epistle, where he mentions S. Paul's Epistles, and says, In which some things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their Destruction. Clemens Romanus takes many Expressions out of these. The Epistles to the Galatians and Philippians are quoted by Polycarp, the Scholar of S. John; and some Places out of those, and others, are cited by Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian. Only some have doubted, whether or no S. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews; but the best Judges of Antiquity, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius and S. Jerom, attribute it to S. Paul. However this Epistle was taken so antiently for Scripture, that Clement of Rome, who was Contemporary with S. Paul, cites some Passages verbatim out of it. And S. Jerom writes, that this Epistle was always attributed to S. Paul, in the Eastern Church, though it was for some time excepted against in the Latin.

The Epistle of S. JAMES is quoted by as antient Authors as Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Cyprian and Tertullian; and though, as Eusebius relates, it was for some time doubted by some, yet it is plain that, upon better weighing the Matter, at last all received it.

The first of S. PETER was universally received as of undubitable Authority. The second (as Origen, Eusebius and S. Jerom write) was some time doubted, i. e. whether it were S. Peter's; but the same Writers who relate this do themselves adjudge it to him, and it is mentioned in the Catalogues of Canonical Books, viz. of Clement of Alexandria, S. Athanasius and Nazianzen.

The Epistle of S. JUDE is quoted as Canonical Scripture, by Tertullian and S. Cyprian, and is in all the Catalogues of the Sacred Books. Indeed it was sometime doubted, like the second of S. Peter, by some Churches, but upon more mature Consideration it was universally received. It seems to be written upon the same Occasion as the second of S. Peter, viz. to warn the Faithful, against the Pretences of the Gnosticks, or some other very antient Hereticks

a The Old Testament is not contrary

The Purport and Design of the Article, from Bishop Burnet.

I. The learned Bishop of Sarum has made the following excellent Remark, which is very necessary for a due stating of the Sense and Tendency of this Article. "This Article is made up of the Sixth and Nineteenth of King Edward's Articles laid together: Only the Nineteenth of King Edward's has these words after Moral. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which teach that the holy Scriptures were given to none but to the weak: and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend, that all whatsoever they preach is suggested to them, though manifestly contrary to the holy Scriptures. This whole Article relates to the Antinomians. As these last words were added by reason of the Extravagance of some Enthusiasts at that time, but that Madnets having ceased in Queen Elizabeth's time, it seems it was thought that there was no more occasion for those Words.

II. This pestilent Doctrine of the Antinomians, in making the Old Testament contrary to the New, was but a part of the Manichean and Marcionian Heresies, revived. For thus Theodoret relates of Marcion. Τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς προφητάς, καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν πᾶσαν ἐκβέβληκεν, ὡς ἀπ' ἀλλοτεῖς δεδομένον θεῷ. He rejected the Law and the Prophets, and all the old Testament, as given by another God. Theod. Her. Fab. Lib. i. cap. 24. And so Epiphanius of the same Heretick: Τὸν νόμον ἀπεβάλλει καὶ πάντας προφητάς, λέγων ὅτι τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ πεποιημένα τὰς τοιαύτας προφητείας: He rejected the Law and all the Prophets, saying that they did not predict future things, from the Instinct of that Archon who made this World. Epiph. Her. xlii. The same Impiety Socrates relates of the Heretick Manes. Καὶ νόμον καὶ προφητάς ἀδίδει: He rejects the Law and the Prophets. Socr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. ed. Steph. p. 185. And so does Theophylact mention him, as maintaining the same Opinion, in common with Marcion. Εἰς ἃ αὐτὸς ὅτι νομοθέτης παλαιᾶς τε καὶ νέας διαθήκης, καὶ ἄν Μαρκίαν καὶ Μάνης, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὅς τι τέτων αἰρετικῶν κατ'ἀλογον ἀβυστῆσι τὴν παλαιάν. τὰ ποιεῖ δειμιουργοῦ, λέγοντες αὐτὴν εἶναι νομοθεσίαν: There is one and the same Legislator of the Old and the New Testament, though Marcion and Manes, and the other like Tribe of Hereticks, do reject the Old Testament, saying that it is the Legislature of an evil Demiurg. Theoph. in iii. Joh.

III. This wicked and dangerous Opinion was in part revived by Johannes Agricola, who was first a Scholar of Luther, and afterwards the Founder of the Antinomian Sect. He was born at Ilse in Saxony, A. D. 1442. He accompanied Count Mansfield, as a Chaplain to the Diet of Spire, 1526. And to that of Ausburg, 1530, in the Retinue of the Elector of Saxony. He was afterwards a Professor and Minister at Wittenberg, where he vented his Antinomian Doctrines; using very contemptuous Expressions in his Lectures, concerning the Mosaic Law and the Old Testament. Luther wrote against him with his usual Spirit, and by his Interest with the Protestant Princes obliged him to Recantation; which he submitted to, though with no great

as tho' it were contrary to the New, but to be kept still; for both in the Old and New Testaments everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator be-

contrary to the New. For both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man. Where-

non est, quandoquidem tam in veteri, quam in novo, per Christum, qui unicus est Mediator Dei, & hominum, Deus & Homo, eterna vita humanogeni est proposita. Quare male

great Sincerity. His Opinions took Root among many of the more negligent sort of the common People who had left Popery, which was no little Scandal to the Reformation, and which occasioned Luther, and the other Protestants, vigorously to attack the Founder of them. His Opinions are reported to be, That Men are not obliged by the Law of Works, i. e. the Moral Law; That 'tis against Mens Conscience to endeavour to be Righteous; That if a Man be an Adulterer, a Whoremonger, or Covetous, if he does but believe he shall be saved. Luther. Lib. de Concil. Prateol. Elench. Har. voce Antinomi. His Opinions were afterwards espoused by Paulus Crellius, in his Book de Libertate Christiana, with an unparalleled degree of Impudence and blasphemous Buffoonery; he calling the Moral Law of the Old Testament, old Bottles, & calceos in angulo derelictos; and Shoos thrown into a Hole; and saying, that to look for Salvation from thence, was, Pediculum in scabie querere, to look for a Louse in a Scab. Some of the Gospellers, as they were called in King Edward the Sixth's time (i. e. those who pretended a further Reformation than the Laws allowed) were tainted with these Opinions, which was the occasion of the compiling this Article, or at least of the wording it so, as it stood in the Edition of King Edward.

IV. But the Doctrine of these Here-ticks is directly contrary to that of the holy Scriptures. For our Saviour plainly tells us, that he came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfill,

Mat. v. 17. And the Apostle puts the Question, as a very great Absurdity in the Christian Religion; do we then make void the Law through Faith? God forbid; yea (says he) we establish the Law, Rom. iii. 31. And again. What shall we say then? is the Law Sin? God forbid. Nay I had not known Sin, but by the Law; for I had not known Lust, except the Law had said, Thou shalt not covet, Rom. vii. 7.

As for those Passages of Scripture, which the Antinomians ground their Opinion upon, viz. By the deeds of the Law no flesh shall be justified, Rom. iii. 20. Ye are become dead to the Law by the body of Christ, Rom. vii. 4. Now we are delivered from the Law, &c. Rom. vii. 6. When we were Children, we were in bondage under the elements of the world, Gal. iv. 3. Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage, Eph. v. 1. These are to be understood only of the Jewish Ceremonial Law, which was abolished by Christianity, but not of the Moral which was taken in to be a part of it. Or if any of them have a regard to the old Moral Law, they are to be understood of the Rigor of it, which entailed a Curse upon all Offenders, and allowed no Satisfaction for wilful Sins; whereas the Gospel allows of the Repentance of all Offenders, and accepts of an imperfect, when sincere, instead of an unfinning Obedience.

V. And that there is no Contrariety between the Old and the New Testament, as these Persons do pretend, the Divines of the antient Church do testify. For thus S. Chrysostom. Διαφορὰ μόνον ὅτιν ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις, ἡ μάχη, ἡ δὲ ἐναντίωσις τὸ ὃ παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ καινῇ γίνεται παλαιόν. Τὸτο δὲ ἡ μάχη, ἡ δὲ ἐναντίωσις ἀλλὰ διαφορὰς ὀνόματι μόνον. The two Testaments differ only in words, but there is no Opposition or Contrariety between them. But this does not argue any Opposition or Contrariety, but only a difference in the wording. Chryl. Hom. lvi. edit. sav. Tom. v. pag. 376. And elsewhere. Οὐδὲν ἀγερφον κῆται ἐτε ἐν τῇ καινῇ, ἐτε ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ, ἀλλὰ περὶ βάλει τὴ καινὴν ἢ παλαιᾷ, καὶ ἡμῖν νεύσει τὴ παλαιᾷν ἢ καινῇ. καὶ πολλὰς, ἔπον, ὅτι δύο διαθήκαι, καὶ

δύο παιδίσκαι, καὶ δύο ἀδελφαὶ τὴ ἑνα δεσπότιν δορυφορεῖται. Χεῖρος παρὰ περὶ τὰς καλῶν ἄλλεται, Χεῖρος ἐν καινῇ κηρύσσεται, ἡ καινὰ τὰ καινὰ, περὶ βάλει τὴ παλαιᾷ, καὶ ἐσβέδι τὰ παλαιὰ, ἡμῖν νεύσει τὴ ἐν τῇ καινῇ. There is nothing omitted in the Writings both of the Old and the New Testament; the Old said the same thing first, and the New interpreted the Old. I have often said there are two Testaments, two Handmaids and two Sisters, that like Centinels attend upon our Lord. Christ is preached by the Prophets, and Christ is preached in the New Testament. The New indeed is not New, for the Old led the way to it; the Old is not abrogated, but is only explained in the New. Hom. cxi. Tom. v.

VI. The only difference between the Old and New Testament is in some few Particulars, which argues rather an Improvement than a Contradiction or Abrogation. As (1.) In the clearness of the Revelation of the divine Will and the Mysteries of our Redemption; which are set down in express Words in the New Testament, but are darkly shadowed out by Types and Figures under the Old. This is well expressed by the Pseudo-Dionysius. Ἡ μὲ παλαιὰ διαθήκη ἐστὶ τὰς ἐσομένων Ἰησοῦ θεουργίας, ἡ δὲ νέα ἐτέλεσε, καὶ ἐκίνη μὲ ἐκί- σι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔγραψεν, αὐτὴ δὲ παρῶσαν ὑπέδειξε. Τῶν δὲ ἐκείνης παραρρήσεων ἡ καὶ ταύτην τελεσιουργία τὴν ἀλή-θειαν ἐπιδείσαστο, καὶ [forte ἢ] ὅτι τὴ θεολογίας ἡ θεουργία συνηραδωσιν. The old Testament spoke of the Actions of Christ to come, but the new Testament has declared them in Perfection; this wrote of the Truth in Figures, but the other has demonstrated it as present; this by its Predictions begets a Faith to the Truth, the other is the very Operation of the divine Words, and the summary of the divine Action. Eccl. Hier. cap. iii. The like S. Chrysostom expresses in a very few words. Τὰ ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ οἰκονομημένα, ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἦν σκία γεγραμμένα. The Dispensations of the new Testament were shadowed out in the Old. Chryl. Hom. xxiv. Tom. ed. Savil. vii. (2.) The new Testament requires greater Perfection than the Old, extending its Obligation not only to our exterior Actions, but even to the very Thoughts and Desires of our Hearts. On which Isidore Pelusiote makes this excellent Remark. Ἐἰς μὲ ὅτιν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαθηκῶν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἀλλὰ ὁ μὲ νόμος δυσνητοῖς ἔσι τοῖς ἰουδαίοις, τὰς περὶ τὰς ἀπογορεύει μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἐναγγέλιον, ἄτε φιλοσόφοις δογματίζον, καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ περὶ τὰς φύσιν, ὥστε πηγὰς τῶν κακῶν πρὸς ἀνασέλλει, καὶ γινόμενα μόνον τὰ ἀμαρτήματα κολάζον ἀκρεβῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ γένεσθ, κολύον ἀσφαλῶς. There is one Legislator of both Testaments; but the Jewish Law, being given to a cross and stubborn People, prohibited only Actions; but the Gospel delivering Precepts to Persons as it were of a philosophical Genius, forbids Thoughts from which Actions arise, thereby stopping up the Fountain of Evils before they break out, not only forbidding Sins, but carefully providing that they should not be committed. Isid. Pel. Ep. ccix.

b Both in the old and new Testament-----Christ who is the only Mediator, &c.] That Christ was expected as a Mediator and Saviour by those under the old Law, and his Coming predicted in innumerable places of the old Testament, is evident to all those who will but give themselves the trouble of perusing those sacred Writings.

I. The first great Prediction of Christ's coming to be a Saviour to the World, is found in the third Chapter of Genesis, where it is said, That the Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's Head; in which words is plainly foretold, that some great and remarkable Person should some time or other proceed

Antient Prophe-
sies concerning
Christ's Media-
torship.

tween God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.

fore^c they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.

Altho' the Law given from God by *Moses*, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not

sentiunt, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt.

Quamquam lex a Deo data per Moysen (quoad Ceremonias & ritus) Christianos non astringat, neque

proceed out of the Stock, which was to be raised from the Body of that Female, that should defeat the Devil's Purposes in procuring the lapse of Mankind, and ruin the Kingdom he thought thereby to establish. Another great Prediction and Promise of Christ's Mediatorship was made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3. *In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* Which Promise can have no other tolerable Sense put upon it, than that Christ who was to be born of the Seed of Abraham was to be the Saviour of the whole World; as the Apostle very well observes, Gal. iii. 8. *Jacob's Prediction, That the Scepter should not depart from Judah, nor the Lawgiver from between his feet, till Shilo come, and That the gathering of the Gentiles should be to him, Gen. xlix. 10.* is an exact Prediction, not only of the Reality, but of the Time of Christ's coming. For till that time the Jews had a Polity, and were governed by their own Laws, but afterwards all their Government and Jurisdiction were destroyed, they enjoyed neither City, Temple, Laws, nor any thing that might entitle them to a Civil or Ecclesiastical Legislature. And the Gentiles were in a true and proper Sense gathered to him; for as great part of the Jews fell off from him, so the Gentile World in all Parts came in crowds to embrace the new Religion which he preached. *Balaam's Prophecy of a Star's coming out of Jacob, and a Scepter's arising out of Israel, which should smite the corners of Moab, &c. Num. xxiv. 17.* was a Prediction of the Messiah, as the Jews themselves own; and the pretended Messiah, *Barcoeba* (i. e. the Son of a Star, took this Name from this Character: and the smiting the Corners of Moab an Heathen Nation, did aptly denote our Saviour's destroying the Heathen Idolatry. In the Psalms, particularly the ii. xxii. xlv. cii. cx. are many Passages which relate to the Messiah, as the Jewish Writers themselves own. The Prophet *Isaiah* does in many Places predict the Kingdom of the Messiah, and in the liii Chapter does very lively describe his Sufferings and Satisfaction. The Prophet *Daniel* does foretel the precise time in which the Messiah shall be cut off, and the Jewish Oeconomy cease. *Dan. ix. 24, 25, 26.* The Prophet *Micah* does predict his being born at *Bethlehem*, *Mac. v. 2.* The Prophet *Haggai* does foretel the *Glory of the second Temple*, or Dispensation of the Jewish Affairs after the Captivity, exceeding that of the former; which in all particulars, excepting the coming of the Messiah under it, was inferior. *Hag. ii. 6.* And lastly the Prophet *Malachi* foretels, *That the Messenger of the Covenant* (i. e. the Messiah) *in whom they delighted, should suddenly come to his Temple, Mal. iv. 1.* I have dispatched these Particulars with greater Brevity, because I have more largely insisted on them in another Treatise, vid. *Conference with a Theist*, Vol. III. from p. 10. to p. 122. From these Passages it is plain, that the Notion of the Mediatorship of the Messiah, or his coming into the World to be the Saviour thereof, was well settled in the Minds of the Jews before the coming of Christ. For both our Saviour and his Apostles make their Appeals to these Prophecies, as universally understood in this Sense, in their several Sermons and Discourses. For thus our blessed Saviour, *Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me; Joh. v. 46.* So S. Peter in his Sermon, *Acts iii. 20.* *He shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you: whom the heaven must receive, until the time of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, since the world began.* For *Moses truly said unto the Fathers, a Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your Brethren, like unto me; him ye shall hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you, &c. Tea, and all the Prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have*

likewise foretold of these days. S. Paul in his Speech to *Agrippa* asserts the same. *Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things, than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come, that Christ should suffer, &c. Acts xxvi. 22, 23.* And so S. Peter in his first Epistle, cap. i. 10. *Of which Salvation the Prophets have enquired, and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you; searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify, when it was testified before-hand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow.*

II. Upon this account many of the Antients looked upon the old Patriarchs, and other good People before the coming of Christ, to be saved by their belief in Christ to come, as Christians are by their believing in him as already come; and thereby to have been Members of the same Christian Church, and Professors of the same Christian Religion. For thus *Eusebius*. *Ti δὴ ἐν λοιπὸν ἐμποδὼν ἂν εἴη, μὴ ἔχει εἶνα καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν βίον τε καὶ τὸ εἶπον εὐσεβείας. ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰς θεοφιλέσιν ὁμολογῶν. ὡς τε μὴ νέαν καὶ ξένην ἀλλ' εἰ δὲ παλαιὰ ἀληθεύοντα, πρῶτην ὑπαρχάν καὶ μόνην καὶ ἀληθὴν κατέθεσαν εὐσεβείας, τὴν διὰ τὸ τῷ Χριστῷ διδασκαλίας παραδοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδεκνύμεν.* *What should hinder but to say, that the good People who were before Christ made Profession of the same Religion with us: so that the Christian is not a new and strange Religion, but, to speak the Truth, is the ancient discipline of Godliness which the Patriarchs professed.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. ed. Step. cap. iv.* S. *Cyril* on the same Argument expresses himself thus. *Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ φίλοι, καὶ θαύματα πάντες, Χριστὸν ἐπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης παρουσίας.* *The Friends of God, admirable Persons in former times were acquainted with Christ before his coming in the Flesh.* *Chrys. Hom. viii. in Joh.* And so again upon those words, *One Lord, one faith, &c.* he has these remarkable words. *Ti δὲ εἴ ἐν σώματι οἱ πανταχῶς τὸ οἰκομένους πιστοὶ, καὶ ὄντες καὶ γινόμενοι, καὶ ἐσόμενοι, πάλιν καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ παρουσίας εὐσεβηκότες, ἐν σώματι εἰσι. Πῶς; ὅτι κακῶν καὶ Χριστὸν ᾔδεισαν. Πόθεν δὴλον; Ἀβελὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, &c.* *What is one Body? The Believers of all Countries which have been and which shall be; nay those who were pleasing to God before Christ's coming are one Body. But how so? because they knew or believed in Christ. How does this appear? from that of our Saviour; your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my Day, &c. Chrys. Hom. x. in Eph.* The same Doctrine was yet more expressly taught by *Nazianzen*. *Ἄμα μυητός τις καὶ ἀπὸρρητός ἐστι ὁ λόγος, σφόδρα πιθανὸς ἐμὸι γυν, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοθεοῖς, μηδὲνα ἥδ' οὐδὲ τῇ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας τελεωθέντων, δίσχα τὸ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως τύπος τυχεῖν. Ὁ γὰρ λόγος, ἐπαρρησιάζει καὶ ὑπερβαίνει καὶ ἰδίους, ἐγνωσμένοι καὶ περὶ τοῖς καθ' αἰεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν.* *This is a secret and hidden Doctrine, but yet what seems probable to me and pious Persons, that none of those who went to Happiness before the coming of, did obtain it without Faith in Christ. For although the Word was freely divulged in time, yet he was known to those good People long before.* *Greg. Naz. Orat. xxii.*

^c They are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.] *Moses* being, by God's Order, to erect the frame of a sacred Commonwealth among the Jews, doth, in the Books, which he hath written, and the several Tables of the Laws which he

bind Christian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any Commonwealth, yet notwithstanding, ^d no Christian Man whatsoever is free from the Obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

civilia ejus precepta in aliqua repub. necessario recipi debent, nihilominus tamen ab obedientia mandatorum (quæ moralia vocantur) nullus (quantumvis Christianus) est solutus.

he promulgated, excite the Jews to the Observance of them from Temporal Promises and Threatnings; both because these were the most likely to engage the Affections of a carnal People, that had been long used to Meanness and Slavery; and because God's Covenant with that Nation being National, publick and visible Blessings upon the Observation of the Terms of it, and national Miseries upon the Violation thereof, were the most proper Means to engage that Nation to a Compliance therewith. But besides these general Promises of Temporal Blessings, and the Denunciation of publick Miseries, which do most frequently occur in the Writings of the old Testament; there are many Places which do evidently shew, that tho' this was the ordinary Tenour of the National Covenant, yet particular Persons had Encouragement from the divine Revelation to expect even Spiritual Rewards, or Blessings in another Life after this. For what else could be the meaning of the Faith of Abraham being so highly magnified in Scripture, in believing that in his Seed all the Nations of the earth should be blessed, Gal. iii. 18. but that he expected a Saviour to descend from his Body, whose happy Influences should extend not only to his Posterity, but to all the World besides? Which Blessings could not be Temporal Ones, for the Temporal Successes of one Nation are, for the most part, rather prejudicial than beneficial to others. And the Apostle elsewhere declares plainly, that his Faith was grounded chiefly upon such Spiritual Blessings. *He looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God,* (i. e. another unchangeable Life or State of Happiness, which God

had prepared for his pious Servants.) *Hebr. xi. 10.* To this *Isaiah* refers, when he speaks of an everlasting Covenant, which if they heard their Souls should live, *Is. lv. 3.* It is to this that holy *Job* refers, when he said, *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the later day upon the earth. And tho' after my skin worms destroy this Body, yet in my flesh I shall see God. Whom I shall see for my self, and mine eyes shall behold and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.* *Job xxix. 25, 26, &c.* And 'tis this that the Psalmist means, *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption. Thou wilt shew me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy hand there are pleasures for evermore.* *Psal. xvi. 10, 11.* The like is to be understood of that Passage in the next Psalm: Where having declared that wicked Men have their portion in this life; he says, *As for me I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness.* *Psal. xvii. 15.* which is a clear Description of the Resurrection. Which is yet more fully described in that remarkable Passage of the Prophet *Daniel.* *At that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever,* *Dan. xii. 1, 2, 3.*

^d No Christian Man.] vid. Note a, §. iv.



ARTICLE VIII.

VII. The three Creeds.

Of the three^a Creeds.

VIII. De tribus Symbolis.

a Creeds.] Our English word *Creed* comes from the Latin Verb *Credo*, and is a kind of Contraction of *Credendum*, as being a Summary of what is to be believed by every Christian Man. It was called *Σύμβολον* or *Symbolum* by the generality of the Writers of the Greek and Latin Church; but of what Antiquity that Appellation is, and what was the ground of its being called so, is not so universally agreed.

I. It is certain that the most antient Writers of Christianity do not call it *Symbolum*, when they have occasion to speak of the Christian Summary or publick Confession of Faith, but *Regulam Veritatis*, the Rule of Truth, Iren. Lib. i. c. 19. and *Regulam Fidei*, the Rule

of Faith, Tertul. de Virg. vel. Nov. de Trin. But it is called *Symbolum* by S. Cyprian, Ep. lxxvi. And S. Ambrose in his xxxviii Epistle, Lib. v. speaks thus. *Sequenti die, erat autem Dominica, post lectiones, atque tractatum, dimissis Catechumenis SYMBOLUM aliquibus Competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam Basilicæ.* The next day, being Sunday, after the Lessons and the Sermon, having sent away the Catechumens, I delivered the *SYMBOL* to some of the Competents, in the Baptistry of the Church.

II. But as to the Reason why it was called the Symbol, the Writers of Antiquity are divided. Those of the Antients who were of Opinion that the Apostles, in a joint Assembly of all their number, framed the Creed, each of them contributing to put in an Article, would have the word to take its Signification from the Greek *συμβάλλειν* which signifies to contribute. Hence that of Terence, *Symbolum* (or as others read it) *Symbolam dedit.* He has sent in his Club, or Share for the Entertainment. Ter. Andr. Act. i. And that of Gellius, *Ne omnino immunes & asymboli veniremus, conjectabamus ad canulam, &c.* Least we should come on free cost and without our Symbol, we have thrown in something towards the Supper, &c. A. Gell. Lib. vi. c. 16. From this Sense of the word I say, those, who thought the Apostles clubbed together to make the Creed, would have it to be called the Symbol. Upon which account Rufinus writes thus. *Symbolum dici potest collatio, hoc est quod plures in unum conferunt, id enim fecerunt Apostoli in his sermonibus in unum conferendo quod unusquisque sensit.* It may be called a Symbol, because it is a Collation, i. e. which many contribute to make up, which the Apostles did in this Composition (i. e. the Creed) by bringing together into one what each of them thought. Ruff. Expos. Symb. §. 2. And after him Cassian says it is called *Symbolum*, ex collatione; quia in unum ab Apostolis Domini quicquid per universorum divinarum voluminum corpus immensa funditur copia, totum in Symboli colligitur brevitate. It is called a Symbol from Collation; because whatsoever lies diffused in the large Volumes of the Scriptures, was put together by the Apostles of our Lord in a short Symbol or Creed. Cass. de Incar. Dom. Lib. v. But this Criticism must stand or fall, by the Authority which is vouched, for such a Combination of the Apostles in framing the Creed, of which more hereafter.

III. Others will have it to be called a Symbol, from the *Symbolum* or Watchword of the Soldiers, by which they were wont to distinguish those of their own Party from the Enemy.

Which is another Reason assigned by Rufinus, for this Name being given to the Creed. Idcirco

istud indicium posuere, per quod agnosceretur is, qui Christum verè secundum Apostolicas regulas prædicaret. Denique & in bellis civilibus hoc observari ferunt; quoniam & armorum habitus par, & sonus vocis idem & mos unus est, atque eadem instituta bellandi, ne qua doli surreptio fiat, symbola discreta unusquisque dux suis militibus tradit, quæ Latine vel signa, vel indicia nominantur; ut si fortè occurrerit quis de quo dubitetur, interrogatus symbolum, prodatur an sit hostis vel socius. The Christians used this as a Token to distinguish him by, who should hold Doctrines truly according to the Apostolical Rules. For this is wont to be observed in Civil Wars; because their Armor is alike, there is the same Tone of their Voice, and the same Method of fighting, therefore least any deceit should take Place, every General gives out among his Soldiers some distinct Symbols, which the Latins call *SIGNA* and *INDICIA*: that when any suspicious Person is met with, being asked the Symbol, he may discover himself either to be an Enemy or a Friend. After him Maximus Taurinensis makes the same Observation, *Symbolum Tessera est & signaculum, quo inter fideles perfidosque secernitur.* A Symbol is a Token or Sign, by which Friends and Enemies may be distinguished. Max. Taur. de Trad. Symb.

IV. Others will have this Denomination of the Creed to have taken its rise, from the Symbols, made use of in the idolatrous Sacra of the Heathen. For these are termed Symbols. *Τὴν θύμιναν τὰ ὑποπύλαια σύμβολα, ὁ δὲ γὰρ ἀνὴρ λύχνον εἶπεν, &c.* The hidden Symbols of Themis are the Fiddle, the Candle, the Sword. Clem. Alex. Protrept. *Ipsa denique symbola, quæ rogata sacrorum in acceptionibus respondentis.* *Jejunavi atque ebibi Cyceonem, ex cista sumpsi, & in Calathum misi: accepti rursus in cistulam transtuli.* These are the Symbols which you answer to in your Initiation into the Sacra of Ceres: I have fasted and drunk Cyceon: I have taken out of the Chest and put into the Basket: I took again out of the Basket and put into the little Chest. Arnob. cont. Gent. Lib. v. Now though some wanton Critiques to shew their Skill and Learning have given out, that the Christians gave the name of *Symbolum* to their Creed, because they held it as much an *ὑποπύλαιον* as the Heathens did their Mysteries; yet any one of a less form of Learning, that understands the cursed Lewdness and Villany of the Heathen Symbols or Rites, and withal the Piety of the first Christians, will think that they would have sooner embraced Martyrdom, than to have prophaned their Religion with such a scandalous Imitation of the Heathen Sacra.

V. It is most probable, that this Name was given to the Creed, not with relation to any appropriate Sense of the Word used by any Body of Men, either Soldiers or Mysticks; but from the general Signification of the Word *σύμβολον*, which signifies a Badge or Note of Distinction. For Hesychius explains *σύμβολον* by *σημεῖον*, a Sign; and so does Suidas; and Rufinus as before mentioned, interprets *Symbolum* by *Indicium*, a Badge or Token. For Christians having learned this Orthodox Confession of Faith in their Baptism, and solemnly promised therein to make a constant Profession of; whenever they changed their Abode, or travelled into Foreign Parts, upon this Declaration of their Faith, they were admitted to the Communion of the Churches which they came among.

** That

The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is com-

The three Creeds, ^b Nice Creed, Athanasius Creed, and ^c that which is called the Apostles

Symbolatrica, Nicænum, Athanasii, & quod vulgo Apostolorum appellatur, om-

**** That which is called the Apostles Creed.]** This was called the Apostles Creed, because [for many Ages together an Opinion prevailed in the Church, That the Apostles, before their separating from Jerusalem, drew up this Form as an unchangeable Rule of Faith, to be delivered to all the new Converts to Christianity, not in the least to be varied from by themselves or their Successors; and particularly that each of them added a Clause, the Sum of which made up this Formulary. This Opinion did in some measure take its Rise, from some very antient Writers of the Church, but was improved to the height by a Sermon supposed to be written by St. Austin, from whom the Schoolmen and the generality of the Writers of the Roman Writers, who maintain the same, received it. *Petrus dixit, Credo in Deum Patrem, &c. Peter said, I believe in God the Father Almighty; John, Maker of Heaven and Earth; James, And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; Andrew, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; Philip, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was dead and buried; Thomas, He descended into Hell, the third day he rose again from the dead; Bartholomew, He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; Matthew, From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; James the Son of Alphaeus, I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church; Simon Zelotes, The Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of Sins; Jude the Brother of James, The Resurrection of the Body; Matthias, Life everlasting. Amen.* Aug. Serm. de Temp. 115. But possibly this Opinion was older than the Writer of this Homily, for it seems not obscurely to be hinted at in that Passage of Leo the Great. *Ipsius Catholici symboli brevis & perfecta confessio, quæ duodecim Apostolorum totidem est signata sententiis, tam instructa sit in munitione caelesti, ut omnes Hereticorum opiniones solo possint gladio detruncari.* This short and perfect Confession of the Catholick Creed, which is composed of the twelve Sentences of the twelve Apostles, is such heavenly Armor, that all the Opinions of the Hereticks may be dispatched by this Sword alone. Leo. Ep. xcvi.

Improbability of every Apostle his contributing an Article.

VII. But to speak freely, this is a fond Opinion grounded upon no Reason, but only a Tradition of late date, and, when it comes to be examined, is pressed with insuperable Difficulties. For 1. Had the Apostles engaged themselves in a matter of this Importance, especially in this formal and solemn Manner as in this Story is related, it could hardly have escaped the being mentioned by St. Luke, who wrote the History of the Time this is supposed to have been done in; especially when that Historian has descended to the Relation of other Matters of Fact, seemingly of less Moment. 2. Or if it had escaped the Pen of St. Luke, it could hardly have avoided being mentioned by Eusebius, Socrates, and other Ecclesiastical Historians, who supply many Matters from Tradition and antient Annals, which the Scriptures have passed over; especially when they relate the Errors of so many Hereticks, and so frequently have a fair Opportunity of declaring, how they oppose the Creed, which was thus solemnly agreed upon by the Apostles. 3. If this Creed had been generally esteemed to have been drawn up by the Apostles, it can't be supposed that so many several Creeds should have been drawn up, about the fourth Century, and Persons by publick Authority enjoined to be baptized by the Nicene Creed. *Evag. Hist. Eccl. Lib. iii. c. 4.* 4. Nor lastly, if the Apostles had drawn up the Form of this Creed, in the manner as is related, it cannot be supposed, that there should be so great difference found in the Forms used by the several Churches, hardly any of which do agree; but if it had been composed, as is by this account pretended, it would undoubtedly have been kept as inviolable in all Churches, as the Scriptures themselves, and no private Hand or publick Authority would have been suffered to have made the least Variation therein.

VIII. However, this Creed, tho' it did not appear exactly in the same Form we have it now in, in the most antient Ages of the Church, yet the Substance thereof and, for the main, the very Expressions were used, from the very beginning of Christianity. It seems at first to have been a short Catechism, consisting of the Baptismal Interrogatories, with their Answers. And the present Creed is but a Sum of all the Answers, without the Interrogatories, put together. This is evident from many Passages of Antiquity. As particularly from that of Irenæus. *Οὕτως ὁ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀληθείας ἀκλινῆς ἐστὶν αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτι διὰ τὸ βαπτισματικῶς εἰληθῆς. So preserving the immoveable Rule of Faith, which he received in Baptism.* Iren. Lib. i. cap. i. and then presently after relates the substance of the Apostles Creed, almost in the same Words we now have it. *Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, &c. I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. ib. cap. ii.* The same is further evinced by that of S. Cyprian. *Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo, quo & nos, baptizare: eundem nosse Deum, Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione Baptismi; a nobis non discrepare: sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum, non esse unam nobis & Schismaticis symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Jam cum dicunt: Credis Remissionem peccatorum & vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam, mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Ecclesiam.* But if any one shall object and say, that Novatianus holds the same Rule which the Catholick Church holds, that he baptizes with the same Creed that we do; that he acknowledges the same God the Father, the same Christ his Son, and the same Holy Ghost, and that therefore he has the power of baptizing, because he does not seem to differ from us in the Baptismal Interrogatories: but let him who objects this know, that we have not the same Rule of the Creed in common with the Schismaticks, nor the same Interrogatories. For when they say, *Do you believe the Forgiveness of Sins, and Life everlasting by the Holy Church, they falsify in the Interrogation, since they have no Church, &c.* Cypr. ed. Pam. Ep. lxxvi.

IX. It is true indeed that the Antient Creeds Forms we have in Tertullian, Irenæus, &c. are somewhat different; but that may be in some Measure owing to their citing the Words by Memory, and varying the Phrases, according to the Rules of Rhetorick. But when the Answers to the Baptismal Interrogatories were joyned together, in one continued Series, without the Questions, we find very little difference between them, as appears by the Copies of the several Creeds of Oriental Churches, and those of Rome and Aquileia in the West. That Creed which Marcellus sent to Julius Bishop of Rome, was an antient Oriental Creed, and is but very little different from the Roman and Aquilian. *Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν παντοκράτορα, &c. I believe in God Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried and rose the third day again from the dead, who ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, &c. And in the holy Ghost, the holy Church, the forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Flesh, and Life everlasting.* Epiph. Hær. Lib. iii. §. 3. The Article of the Descent into Hell, was wanting in the old Creeds, both Greek and Latin, and was first taken from the Creed of Aquileia into the Roman. The words *Life everlasting*, were wanting in most of the Western Creeds. For S. Jerom says, *Omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis Resurrectione concluditur. The Creed is concluded by the words the Resurrection of the flesh.* Hier. Ep. lxi. ad Pamach. The Creed of Aquileia, besides the Article of the Descent into Hell, was particular in the words, *hujus carnis resurrectionem, the Resurrection of this very Body:* and

monly called the Apostles Creed, ought thorowly to be received: for they may be proved by most certain Warrants of Holy Scripture.

Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved * by most certain Warrants of Holy Scripture.

nino recipienda sunt, & credenda: nam firmissimis scripturarum Testimoniis probari possunt.

* By most certain Warranties of Holy Scripture. MS. CCCC. 1571.

in adding after the words, *Father Almighty, Invisible and Impassible*, vid. Ruff. in Symb.

The Interrogatories, out of which the Creed was formed, had their rise from the Apostles.

X. Now this uniform Consent of the several Churches, so very distant from each other, both in Time and Place, does seem very probably to infer that these Baptismal Interrogatories, which afterwards collectively taken formed the Symbol, were delivered down from the Apostles, by uninterrupted Tradition; and affords good ground for that Assertion of Irenæus, Ἡ μὲν ὅλη ἐκκλησία, καὶ πᾶς καθ' ὅλης τῆ οἰκουμένης, ὡς περὶ τὸν υἱὸν διδασκαμένη, παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν μαθητῶν παραλαβούσα τὸ εἰς ἑνὰ θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, &c. For the Church throughout the whole World, dispersed to the utmost bounds of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their Scholars, I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. Iren. Lib. i. cap. 2.

b *Nice Creed.*] It was so called, because it was framed at Nice, a City of Bithynia, in the great general Council, which was held there, A. D. 325, to quiet the disturbance which the Heresie of Arius had given to the Church, by denying the Divinity of our Saviour. Now their design being to secure the Orthodox Faith against the Poison of this Heresie, they did not intend to make a new Creed, but only to explain the Articles of the old one, so as that they might not be perverted to an Heterodox Sense. And therefore the Confessions of Faith which the Fathers of that Council subscribed to, contained only those Articles which related to the Trinity.

The first draught of the Nicene Creed.

The first form of a Creed, or Confession of Faith, which this Council agreed unto, was that delivered into the Council by Eusebius of Casarea: and it run thus.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἑνὰ θεόν, &c. We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, the first born of every Creature, begotten of his Father before all Worlds, by whom all things were made, who was crucified for our Salvation, dwelt among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended unto the Father, and shall come again in Glory to judge both the quick and the dead. We believe in one holy Ghost. Socr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. ad. Steph. c. 5. Aët. Conc. Nic. par. iii. From hence we may observe, that the θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, ὡς ἐκ φωτός, God of God, light of light; the παρὰ πάντων ὁρίων αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, δι' ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα, who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, by whom all things were made; the ἡξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ, shall come again in glory (which Passages stand in the common Nicene Creed now used among us) were owing to this first draught of it.

Afterwards they made some other Additions, to prevent the Subterfuges of the Arians, who maintained an Heterodox Sense, under the Covert of some more general words in the former Confession; and that second draught was this.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἑνὰ θεόν, &c. I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the only begotten Son of the Father, i. e. of the substance of the Father: God of God, light of light; very God of very God, begotten not made; of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things were made. Who for us Men and for our Salvation came down, was incarnate and made Man; who suffered and rose again the third day, ascended into Heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. To this Edition are owing these several Passages in our present Nicene Creed. The ἕκ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, the only begotten Son of God: the θεὸν ἀληθινόν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινῷ γεννηθέντα καὶ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father: the δι' ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διὰ τὸ ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκῶ θέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα: who for us Men and our Salvation came down, was incarnate and was made Man. It should seem before their breaking up that they made some other few Additions. For Epiphanius in his account has given us a Copy of the Nicene Creed, which was used in the Eastern Churches, in which there are some new Clauses, which were in neither of the former. For after the words, judge the quick and the dead, that Creed concludes thus, καὶ τὴ βασιλείαν ἐκ ἑστέ τῆς αἰῶνος. Καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κυεῖον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ὡς συνπεσοκυνόμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου. Εἰς μίαν ἀγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἐποσκοπικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν; Πεσοδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζῶντι μέλλοντι αἰῶνι. Ἀμήν. Whose kingdom shall have no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophets. We acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins. We look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the World to come. Amen. Whether this were a new draught of the Creed, or whether it were a part of the former, the first part thereof relating to the Trinity only being made use of, as a Test upon the Hereticks; I leave others to judge. There remains only the Filioque, which was afterwards added, vid. Note on the Nicene Creed, in the Comment on the Common Prayer.

c *Athanasius's Creed.*] Of the Antiquity of this Creed, and the Exceptions against it, see Note on the Athanasian Creed, in the Comment on the Common Prayer.

ARTICLE IX.

VIII. Of Original or Birth-sin.

Of Original or Birth-sin.

IX. De peccato originali.

Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly

^a Original Sin ^b standeth not in the following of Adam (as the ** Pelagians do vainly talk)

Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami si-

** Pelagians.] The Pelagian Heresie was so called from Pelagius, who about the Year of Christ 405, disseminated the same. He was a Native of Great Britain as all agree; St. Austin, Ep. 106. Prosper. in Chronic. and Marinus Mercator calling him Britannus, and Brito. That he was a Monk by Profession, S. Chrysostom does testifie, who condoling his lapse into Heresie, in an Epistle which he wrote in his Exile, says, *Σφόδρα ἡλγιστα ὑπὲρ Πελαγίου τὸ μὴ ἀζήτου*, &c. I am very much grieved on account of Pelagius the Monk, &c. Chrys. Ep. iv. ad Olymp. But it must be understood that he was a Monk only, according to the Usage of those Times, i. e. one who having no publick Cure in the Church, retired to some solitary dwelling for the greater convenience of Devotion and Study, they oftentimes living in the Families of some honourably or wealthy Person, where they were Tutors to their Sons, or performed divine Offices in their Families. Our Monkish Historians will have him to have been a Monk of Bangor and afterwards Abbot, but that is a wild Fancy without Ground. Some will have him to be born in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, from that Passage of S. Jerom where he says of him, that he was *Scotorum pulitibus pręgravatus*, Grown fat with Scotch Flummery, Hier. Pręf. in Hier. but others will have the Scots here to denote the Irish, vid. Ush. de prim. Whilst he was a Student in the East, he had vented some Heterodox Notions, which made him frequently change his College or Monastery (as they called it) i. e. the Place where the Students lodged, either the better to diffuse his Heresie, or to avoid the Reproach and Opposition he fell under for it. Isidore Pelusiot says, the Occasion was his running in Debt by his intemperate way of living, Isid. Pelus. Ep. cccxiv. but that seems to be a groundless Scandal; for all who were acquainted with him, do acknowledge him to have been a vertuous and pious Person; for S. Chrysostom in the forementioned Epistle commends him for his Piety, and so does S. Austin, Retract. Lib. ii. c. 33. Coming afterwards to Rome, he got acquainted with Rufinus, who had before espoused the like Notions, which he had learned from the Origenian Books, particularly that *πρὸ ἀρχῆς* which he had translated; and communicated other Notions to Pelagius, which he was a Stranger to before. Upon which account S. Jerom calls Rufinus his Forerunner, *Precursor ejus*; Grunnius, Grunnius (i. e. the Nick-Name he gave Rufinus) his Forerunner. Hier. Pręf. in Hier. The like Notions had been vented before by Jovinian, and condemned in a Council at Carthage, which occasioned S. Jerom to say, *Non erubescis explosam atque damnatam Jovinianam sententiam sequi*; you are not ashamed to follow the exploded and condemned Opinion of Jovinian, Hier. Lib. ii. contr. Pelag. The like had been broached by Evagrius Ponticus, in his Book *πρὸ ἀπαθείας*, which Rufinus had translated into Latin. Hier. Ep. ad Ctesiphon. His Principal Errors were, his denying Original Sin, and the necessity of divine Grace, and his asserting that Men might arrive to a State of Impeccability in this Life. His Doctrines were vigorously defended by his Scholars Celestius and Julianus; and as strenuously opposed by S. Jerom, Austin, Fulgentius and Prosper, with many others. His Errors were condemned by several Provincial Councils, as that of Diospolis in Palestine, that of Mi-

levis in Numidia, the Council of Africa under Zozimus, the General Council of Africa, and that of Ephesus. The Books of Pelagius himself were written with more Cunning and Caution than those of his Scholars, he chusing to vent his Doctrine chiefly by their Books. Which occasioned that Expression of S. Jerom spoken of Pelagius. *O te felicem! cujus præter discipulos nemo conscribit libros; ut quicquid videris displicere, non tuum, sed alienum esse contendas.* O happy Man! all whose Books are written by his Scholars; so that whatsoever does not please you, you contend, that it is not yours, but anothers, Hier. contr. Pel. Lib. iv.

a Original Sin.] The Denomination of Original Sin, to denote the Corruption or Depravation of human Nature, derived from the lapse of our first Parents, is not of very early use in the Church. S. Austin is esteemed first to have used it. But, however, the Doctrine is as early as Christianity it self, and the Writers of the first Centuries do expresse very clearly the thing it self, though under different Names. For they call it *παλαιὰ συκοφάνεια*, the old guilt; *antiqua plaga*, the antient wound; *κοινὴ ἀμαρτία*, the common curse; *ἀρχαία ἀμαρτία*, the old Sin, &c. But after the Pelagian Controversie was set on foot, the Divines of the Church generally used *Originale Peccatum*, to signifie the corruption of Nature and Proneness to Sin, which was transmitted down from the first Parents to their Posterity; following therein S. Austin, who thought this the most significant Expression to denote that Depravation of Nature, which the Pelagians denied.

Now that there is such an Original warping of our Nature, which renders us unapt to Good and prone to Sin, and for that reason places us, in our natural State, out of Favour with God, is the constant Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures.

God saw that every imagination of the thoughts of mens hearts were only evil of Original Sin. continually, Gen. vi. 5. The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth, Gen. viii. 25. 'Tis with relation to this general Corruption of Nature, which accompanies us from our Birth, that Job asks the question, *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean*, Job xiv. 4. To the same purpose the Psalmist speaks, *Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my Mother conceive me*; Psal. li. 1. Our Saviour says, *That which is born of flesh is flesh*, Joh. iii. 5. The Apostle tells us, that both Jews and Gentiles are equally born Children of Wrath; *Were by nature the Children of wrath even as others*, Eph. iii. 4. *Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by Sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned*, Rom. v. 12.

These expresse Passages of holy Scripture, together with ordinary Experience, occasioned the antient Writers of the Church, even before the Pelagian Heresie sprung up, to assert in their Writings this general Depravation of human Nature and proneness to Sin, caused by the Fall of our first Progenitors. But they content-

Original Sin formerly called by other Names before S. Austin.

Doctrine of the Fathers who wrote before the Pelagian Controversie, concerning Original Sin.

ed themselves with the Doctrine in general, without descending to those nice Speculations, and particular ways of explaining the Modes of it, which later Divines, in opposing this Heresie, have filled their Books with.

IGNATIUS owns that this old Crime of our first Parents brought an Impurity upon our Nature, which was only to be cleansed by Christ's blood. Δὲς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λύτρον, ἵνα τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ καθάρσῃ ἡμᾶς παλαιᾶς δουλείας; giving himself a ransom for us, that with his blood he might purge us from the old Transgression. Ign. Ep. ad Trall.

JUSTIN Martyr owns our proneness to Sin, and our giving way to the Wiles of the Devil, and our Subjection to Death, to proceed from the lapse of our first Parents. Ὡς ἐὰν τὸ γεννηθῆναι καὶ σωθῆναι ὡς ἐνδεὲς τῶν, ὑπὲρ μὲν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ Χρὶς τὸ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θανάτου καὶ πλάνῃ καὶ ὅπως ἐπειπύκει. He was not born and crucified for his own sake, as having no need of any of these things, but for the sake of Mankind, which on account of Adam had fallen into Death and the Temptation of the Serpent. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph.

TATIAN, Orat. contr. Gent. owns, that by reason of this Sin of our first Parents, all Mankind are not only subject to Death, but deprived of the Commerce with the Logos, which they would have all otherways had. Τότε ἡ τῆς λόγου δύναμις τίντε ἀρξάντα τὴν νοίας καὶ τὰς συνακολουθήσαντες αὐτῷ διακρίσεις παρῆλθον· καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγενῆς χωρίσθη ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ δυνατωτέρου θμιπὲς γίνεταί. Then the Power of the Logos deprived the Author of the Sin, and those who obey him of his Commerce. And Man who was made according to the Image of God, being divested of his more powerful Spirit was made Mortal. And again, Πτέρωσις γὰρ ἡ τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ πνεῦμα, το τελεον, ὅπερ ἀπορίψασα διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἐπὶ ἀσπίρ νεῖω καὶ χαμαιπετὴς ἐγένετο, μεταβάσα δὲ τὴν ἐξάνι συνουσίαν. At first the Soul was lift up on the Wings of a perfect Spirit: which being lost by Sin, she flew like a young Bird close to the ground, and lost its divine Conversation, ibid.

IRENÆUS says, that this old Wound given by the Serpent is only healed by Faith in Christ. Non aliter salvantur homines ab antiqua serpentis plaga, nisi credant in eum, qui secundum similitudinem carnis peccati in ligno martyrii exaltatus a terra, et omnia trahit ad se et vivificavit mortuos. Men cannot otherways be saved from the old Wound of the Serpent, unless they believe in him, who according to the similitude of the Sin of the Flesh, being lifted from Earth in the Martyrial Wood, draws all things after him, and quickens the dead. Iren. adv. Hæres. Lib. iv. cap. 5.

ORIGEN, contr. Cels. Lib. iv. says, that the Curse of Adam and Eve was common to all their Posterity. Ἡ γὰρ τῆς Ἀδὰμ κοινὴ πάντων ὅτι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἡμεῖς λέγεται. The Curse of Adam is common to all Men; and there is no Woman of which the same things may not be said, as are said of Eve.

TERTULLIAN will have, that the Sin of Adam involved all his Posterity in the same Condemnation. Satanam dicimus per quem homo a primordio circumventus, ut præceptum Dei excederet, et propterea in mortem datus, exinde totum genus de suo semine infectum suæ etiam damnationis traducem fecit. We say Satan, by whom Man at the beginning was circumvented, to violate the command of God, from whence his whole Race which proceeded from his Seed being infected, made them liable to his Condemnation. Tert. de An.

S. CYPRIAN asserts, That in Baptism the old Adamic Sin is remitted. A Baptismo prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus, contagium mortis antiquæ primæ natiuitate contraxit: qui ad remissionem peccatorum accipendum hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena. An Infant ought not to be repelled from Baptism, who being newly born has committed no Sin, but only being born carnally according to Adam, by his first Natiuity has contracted the Contagion of the old Death: who for this Reason is more readily admitted to Baptism, he has not his own Sins, but those of another remitted. Cypr. Ep. ad Fid.

S. ATHANASIUS, Or. ii. speaks of the Tradition of Adam's Guilt upon all Men. Ὡς ὅτι τῆς Ἀδὰμ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡ ἀπάτη διέβη, ἕτω καὶ κτεῖν ἰχθυῶν καὶ τῶν τοιαύτων ἰσχυρῶς λοιπὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς διαβήσεται. As through Adam's Fall Sin came upon all Man-

kind, so the Lord having conquered the Serpent, his Power shall have effect upon us all. And again, Ἀρχαίαν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀδὰμ εἰς πάντας γινόμενῃν: That old Sin which by Adam came upon all. Syn. Sacr. Script.

S. BASIL speaks of the spiritual Weakness which has befallen all Mankind by reason of the Fall. Καλὸς γὰρ γὰρ ἦμιν καὶ τὸ φύσιν, ἀδυνῆς δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐπιβλήναι τὸ ὅπως νεκρωθῆναι τῷ πνεύματι. I was beautiful according to Nature, but now am weak, because I am dead through the wiles of the Serpent. Bas. in Psal. xxix.

NAZIANZEN says, that all of us were dead in Sin through Adam. Πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀδὰμ μεταχόντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφιδος παρὰ λογισθέντες, ἐν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ θανάτωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὑπερανῖν Ἀδὰμ ἀνασωθέντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ζῆλον τὸ ζωῆς ἐπαναχθέντες, διὰ τοῦ ζῆλου τὸ ἀτιμίας ὅθεν ἀποπεπλάκαμεν. All that have participated of the same Adam, and have been beguiled by the Serpent, are dead by Sin, and are restored to health by the heavenly Adam, and by the ignominious Tree, are restored to that Tree of Life, from which Men were cut off. Naz. Orat. xiv. And elsewhere. Ἐχρὴν γὰρ ὅλον με σώζειν, ὅλον πείσσομαι καὶ κατακτείνεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῶ πρῶτου ἀδελφοῦ παρὰ λογισθέντος, καὶ λοιπὸν τῶ ἀντικειμένου: There was a necessity of my being saved on every part, because in every part I fell, and was condemned through the disobedience of my first Parent, and the fraud of the Devil. Id. Orat. iii.

S. CHRYSOSTOM, That the Predominancy of our sensual Appetites was owing to Adam's Sin. Τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸ καὶ κατὰ πάθος ἐκείνου καὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, μετὰ γὰρ τὸ θάνατον καὶ πολλὰ παθῶν ἐσώθη ἐσώθη. Our Body before the coming of Christ was easily attacked; for after Death there entered a swarm of Passions. Chrys. in Rom. cap. vi. Hom. ii. And again. Ὅτι γὰρ ἡμαρτεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ γέγονε θνητὸν καὶ παθητὸν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλαττωματὰ ἐδέξατο φυσικὰ καὶ βαρύτερα καὶ δυσνήτερα ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. After Adam had sinned, and his Body was made Mortal and Passible, he then admitted many natural Vices, and the Horse was rendered more untameable. Id. in Rom. vii.

From these and many other Passages, of these more early Christian Writers, it is manifest, that they all admitted that there was a general Corruption of human Nature, a great warping from the Original Rectitude of the first Creation, and a mighty proneness to Sin (which necessarily required a Renovation in Christ) were owing to the Fall of our first Parents.

These most essential Truths of Christianity being denied by the Pelagians, those who opposed that Heresie, insisted upon some other Doctrines, which the former Writers had not so commonly touched upon. (1.) And then much stress was laid upon the Doctrine of the Imputation of Adam's Sin to all his Posterity, asserting that he sinned as it were in our stead, as the common Representative of our human Nature, and therefore all his Posterity are involved, not only in the Guilt, but in the Punishment of his Crime.

This is the Doctrine which **S. Austin** on all Occasions inculcates, and from him the Schoolmen received it. Nascentur non proprie, sed originaliter Peccatores. Men are born Sinners, not upon their own account, but on account of their Original. De Civ. Dei Lib. xvi. cap. 18. And again. Parvuli, non secundum vitæ suæ proprietatem, sed secundum communem generis humani originem, omnes in illo uno testamentum Dei discipaverunt. Children, not upon the proper account of the Actions of their Life, but upon account of the common Original of their Nature, have lost their title in the divine Testament. ibid. cap. 27. Which he understands, not only of the loss of Reward, but of the Obligation to Punishment. Peccatum eos ex Adam dicimus originaliter trahere, i. e. reatu eos implicatos et ob hoc penæ obnoxios detineri. We understand by contracting Sin originally from Adam, that they are involved in the Guilt, and for that reason are obnoxious to Punishment. Aug. Retract. Lib. i. cap. 15. And, when he was pressed by his Adversaries Argument drawn from the Goodness of God, which cannot incline him to punish one Man for another's Faults, especially, since he is so gracious to Pardon Sins committed by Men's own selves, he cannot be so hard to punish them for those, committed by other Persons. To this **S. Austin** answers, that the Sins of our first Parents are not the Sins of others. Imputat vero [Deus] non jam aliena sed propria. Aliena

Aliena quippe erant, quando his qui ea propagata portarent, nondum erant; nunc vero carnali generatione jam eorum sunt; quibus nondum spirituali regeneratione dimissa sunt. No, God does not, in this Case, impute other Persons Sins, but our own. They were other Persons Sins, when they, who bear them now by Propagation, were not in being: but now by carnal Generation they are Their Sins, to whom they are not forgiven by a spiritual Regeneration. Aug. de Remiss. Pecc. Lib. iii. After him, other Writers of his and the following Ages speak the like: As particularly Orosius, who writes thus on the same Subject. *Omnes peccaverunt, sive in Adam sive in seipsis; & egent gloria Dei. Universa igitur massa penas debet. Et, si omnibus debitum damnationis supplicium redderetur, non injuste proculdubio redderetur.* All have sinned, either in Adam or in themselves, and fell short of the Glory of God. Therefore the whole Mass stands obliged to Punishment. And if the Punishment of Damnation were inflicted on all, undoubtedly it would not be unjustly inflicted. Oros.

2. The Doctrine of the Damnation of unbaptized Children.

Apol. de arbitr. Libert. (2.) Another Doctrine, which was particularly insisted on by many of the Divines, after the rise of the Pelagian Heresie, was That Children who died without Baptism were damned. The Orthodox urged the Truth of Original Sin, from the Necessity of Baptism. The Pelagians answered, that the Necessity thereof was not altogether and in every case absolute; because some Children died unbaptized, whom to consign over, for that reason, to everlasting Misery, was highly Uncharitable. The Managers of the Orthodox side replied, That by the Terms of the Gospel they had no right to Salvation, and consequently that they must be damned. Thus S. Austin, *Sed nos dicimus, eos aliter salutem & vitam eternam non habituros, nisi baptizentur in Christo.* But we say that they (i. e. unbaptized Children) can have no Salvation or eternal Life, unless they be baptized in Christ. Aug. de verb. Apost. Ser. xiv. *Noli credere, noli dicere, noli docere, infantes antequam baptizentur morte preventos, pervenire posse ad originalium indulgentiam peccatorum, si vis esse Catholicus.* Do not you believe, do not you say, do not you teach, That Children who die before Baptism, can ever attain to the Pardon of their Original Sins, if you would be a Catholic. Aust. Lib. iii. de orig. an. Indeed this Father, when he is in a milder Temper, makes their Damnation pretty tolerable. *Ego non dico parvulos sine baptismo Christi morientes tanta pena esse plectendos, ut eis non nasci potius expediret.* I do not say, that Children who die without Baptism suffer so great a Punishment, that it were better for them they had not been born. Aug. contr. Jul. Lib. v. c. 8. And in another place, *Potest proinde recte dici parvulos sine baptismo de corpore exeuntes, in damnatione omnium mitissima futuros: It may very truly be asserted, that Children who go out of the Body before Baptism, shall be in the gentlest Damnation of all.* Aug. de pecc. mer. & remis. Lib. i. c. 16. And in this harsh Doctrine he is followed by a great number of Divines who succeeded him. As by Orosius. *Qui non per illam gratiam liberantur, sive qui audire nondum potuerunt, sive cum per aetatem audire non possent, lavacrum regenerationis quod accipere possent, per quod salvi fierent, non acceperunt, iuste utique damnantur: quia sine peccato non sunt, vel quod originaliter traxerunt, vel quod malis moribus addiderunt.* They who are not delivered by that Grace (i. e. of Baptism) who as yet could not bear it, or being of Age, or when by their Age they could not bear it, have not received the Baptism of Regeneration, which is necessary to Salvation, as they ought to have done, are justly damned: because they are not without Sin; either which they have originally contracted, or which they have brought upon them by their ill living. Oros. in Apol. Lib. Arb. vid Prosp. contr. Coll. cap. 19. Isid. Hisp. Eccl. Off. Lib. ii. c. 24. The same Opinion being entertained by most of the School Divines, when they came to divide Hell into Limbus's, the unbaptized Children had one set aside for them. But before the Pelagian Controversie was set a-foot, the Divines of the Church maintained a more moderate and charitable Opinion, concerning unbaptized Infants. The

The contrary Doctrine taught by the more early Divines of the Church.

Adæ patimur, sed ejus occasione propriis peccatis acquiritur. There is another Death which is called the second in Hell, which we do not suffer for the Sin of Adam, but is acquired,

through occasion of that, by our own Sins. in Cap. v. ad Rom. Gregory Nazianzen allows a sort of a middle State to them, neither in Heaven, nor in Hell. *Τὸ δὲ μὴτε δόξαδ' ἔσται, μὴτε κόλασ' ἔσται πρὸς τὸ δικαίον κρείν, ὡς ἀσφραγίστος ἔ. ἀπονήεις δὲ, ἀλλὰ παθόντας μᾶλλον ἢ ζημίαν. ἢ δ' ἐξόντας ἢ δὲ ὅστις ἢ κολάσας ἄξιον. ἢ δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ὡς ἀπὸ ἡδὲ ὅστις ἢ τιμὴς ἢ δὲ κολάσας.* These (i. e. unbaptized Children) shall neither have allotted them celestial Glory, nor yet Punishment by the just Judge: as those, who though they were not baptized, yet have not committed ill, suffering rather loss than bringing it on themselves. For every one that does not deserve Punishment, does not deserve Honour: as whosoever is not worthy of Honour, does not deserve Punishment. Greg. Naz. Or. de Bapt. The same Opinion was maintained by the Author of the Questions ad Antiochum, under the name of Athanasius. *Τὰ δὲ ἀβάπτιστα, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ὅτε εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσέρχονται ἀλλ' ὅτε πάλιν εἰς κόλασιν ἀμαρτίαν δὲ ἐκ ἐπερξάν.* Unbaptized Children do not enter into the Kingdom, nor yet into Punishment; because they have not committed Sin. Neither does S. Austin himself seem to have been of a different Opinion, when he wrote his Book of Free-Will. For there he thus speaks. *Non enim metuendum est, ne vita potuerit esse media quaedam inter recte factum atque peccatum: & sententia judicis media esse non possit, inter premium atque supplicium.* There is no reason to fear, but that there may be a middle Life between Virtue and Sin; and that the Sentence of the Judge may go the middle way between Reward and Punishment. Aug. de Lib. Arb. Lib. iii. cap. 23. (3.) Other Disputes have arisen, since this Pelagian Controversie began, whether Original Sin be something positive or a mere Privation, whether it be propagated with the Soul, or the Body, &c. which as they are curious and useless Questions, I shall forbear to speak further of them.

b Standeth not in the following of Adam.] That the Pelagians did acknowledge, the Corruption of human Nature to proceed only from the Imitation of Adam's Sins, is evident from the many Passages produced out of their Writings by St. Austin, and others of their Opposers. S. Austin quotes this Passage out of Pelagius's own Book of Nature, wherein that Doctrine is couched. *In Adamo peccasse omnes, non propter peccatum nascendi origine contractum, sed propter imitationem, dictum est.* It is said, that in Adam all have sinned, not by reason of Sin contracted by our Birth, but by reason of Imitation. Aug. de Nat. & Gr. c. 9. The same Doctrine is delivered by Julianus. *Apostolus Paulus nullam errori occasionem præbuit, quia nihil dixit improprium, si pronuntiavit, peccatorem primum hominem, sequentibus exemplum fuisse.* The Apostle gave occasion to no mistake, because he said nothing improperly, when he pronounced that the first Man by sinning set an example to the rest. Aug. contr. Jul. Lib. ii. c. 53. And again, *Per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum transiit. Hic autem unus præbenda imitationi sufficit, generationi implenda non sufficit.* By one Man Sin came into the World. Now this one sufficed for to afford Imitation of Sin, but not to propagate by Generation, id. c. 56. But this erroneous Doctrine the Orthodox opposed, by several very demonstrative Arguments; drawn from the Places of Scripture before mentioned, as also from

1. Argument of the Antients for original Sin from the change of our Nature.

the two following Topics. (1.) From the change of our Nature, from that primitive Rectitude and Subordination to the Soul, which Adam possessed it in, and its Subjection to those disorderly Appetites and Passions, which now domineer over it. On this head S. Austin thus argues. *Natura humana duorum primorum hominum prævaricatione mutata est, at tacita corruptioni, quantum videmus atque sentimus, & per hanc subiaceret morti, ac tot ac tantis, tamque inter se contrariis perturbaretur & fluctuaret affectibus: qualis in paradiso, ante peccatum, licet in corpore esset animali, utique non fuit.* Human Nature was changed by the sin of the first Pair, so as to be subject to a gradual decay, as we plainly see and perceive, and by reason of this to Death; and besides this to be disturbed and tossed about by so many boisterous and contrary Passions: the State of which was different in Paradise before the Fall, though in an animal Body likewise. Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. xiii. c. 3. (2.) From the great Ignorance and Error, human Nature is involved in. And thus S. Austin reasons. *Quid aliud indicat horrenda profunditas ignorantia, ex qua om-*

2. From our present Ignorance and Error.

talk, which also the Anabaptists do now adays renew) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every Man, that naturally is engendred of the Offspring of Adam, whereby Man is very far gone from his former Righteousness which he had at his Creation, and is of his own Nature given to Evil; so that the Flesh desireth always contrary to the

* but is the Fault or Corruption of the Nature of every Man that naturally is engendred of the Offspring of Adam, whereby Man is very † far gone from Original Righteousness, and is of his own Nature inclined to Evil, so that the Flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every Person born into the World, it † deserveth God's Wrath and

tum, sed est vitium & depravatio naturæ, cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati: qua fit, ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua naturâ propendeat, & caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat, unde in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet

* But it is the Fault, MS. CCCC. 1571.

† From his original Righteousness, MS. CCCC. 1571.

nis error existit, qui omnes filios Adam tenebroso quodam sinu suscipit, ut homo ab illo liberari, sine labore, dolore, timore non possit? What else, besides original Sin, doth betoken, that horrid depth of Ignorance, from whence proceed all our mistakes, that include all the Sons of Adam as in a dark dungeon, so that Men cannot be delivered from them, without much Labour and Grief and Fear? Aug. de Civ. D. Lib. xxii. c. 22. Now since all Men, from the lapse of our first Parents, have been involved in so much disorderly Passion and Ignorance, which came upon them in their Birth, before they can imitate Adam's Transgression, it necessarily follows, that there must be some other Sin which is punished by these Misfortunes, besides the Imitation of a bad Example.

What is meant by Original Righteousness. c Whereby Man is very far gone from original Righteousness, &c.] By original Righteousness the Divines of the Church do understand, a primitive Rectitude of Nature which our first

Parents were born with, and which, if they had not sinned, would have been traduced down to all their Posterity. This would have been such a Bridle to their Affections and Passions, as they could not easily have rebelled against their Reason, so that they might without any Reluctancy have obeyed all the Commands, which God had been pleased to lay upon them. It has been a dispute among Divines, whether this original Righteousness was a natural Habit, or whether it were a supernatural, and superabundant Infusion of the divine Grace. The antient Divines seem to be of the later Opinion, because they make the Death and Sickness of the Soul, to consist in the withdrawing the divine Grace. Quomodo si anima deserat, moritur Corpus; sic anima moritur, si deserat Deus. Ipsa est gratia ejus, ut resuscitet & sit nobiscum. In the same manner as when the Soul leaves us the Body dies; so the Soul dies when God leaves it. It is his Grace, that makes us rise again, and which is present with us. Aug. de ver. rel. cap. x. Now that Man after the Fall lost this Bridle of his Affections, and from thenceforward run precipitately into Error and Vice, is the doctrine of the Antients. For thus the Author of the Book de vocatione Gentium, under the Name of S. Ambrose. Humana natura in prima hominis prævaricatione vitata, etiam inter beneficia, inter præcepta & auxilia Dei, semper in deteriore est proclivior voluntatem; cui committi non est aliud, quam dimitti. Human Nature was vitiated by the first Sin of Man, even in the midst of the Benefits, the Commands and the Aids of God, his Will is always bent to the worse side; so that God, whilst he gives him Talents, is forced to forgive him, c. 3. The like he elsewhere asserts. Fuit in Adam natura sine vitio, qui per voluntatis inobedientiam mala multa contraxit, & in posteros magis magisque multiplicanda transfudit. Adam had a Nature without Fault, who by the disobedience of his Will contracted many Evils, and traduced them more in number down to Posterity. Id. cap. 8. The same is more fully and expressly laid down by Petrus Diaconus, in his Treatise of the Incarnation. Itaque ser-

pentis astutia, &c. Man being depraved by the wiles of the Serpent, and being become a voluntary Transgressor of the divine Law, according as was predicted, by the just Judgment of God, he has the penalty of Death inflicted upon him, being both as to Body and Soul wholly changed for the worse, losing his proper Liberty he is sold under Sin. After this there is no Man, who is not born bound with this band of Sin, besides him who came to loose the bond of Sin, being born after a new Manner of Generation, the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus. Petr. Diac. de Incar. cap. vi.

d Deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation. What meant by God's Wrath and Damnation. It may be thought that our Church here teacheth, That all Persons, whose Original Guilt is not washed away by Baptism, but who happen to die before they can partake of that Sacrament, are, by the just Judgment of God, consigned over to God's eternal Wrath and Damnation in Hell, as a Punishment which by their Original Guilt they deserve. But that these words do not bear this Sense, is evident from those two Passages of Scripture which they refer to. That concerning God's Wrath is, Eph. ii. 3. were by nature the Children of Wrath even as others. That concerning Damnation is, Rom. v. 16. For the judgment was by one his transgression to condemnation. Now there is neither of these Passages which do necessarily imply eternal Damnation, but contrariwise a temporal Judgment or Condemnation. In the first Passage, by the Children of Wrath, is not understood Persons doomed to God's eternal Vengeance; but only in general, Persons who have some Penalty adjudged upon them. For ὀργή, Wrath, in Scriptural Language, signifies Punishment. So the Day of Wrath, Rom. ii. 5. is the Day of Judgment or Punishment. The Law worketh Wrath, i. e. exposeth to Punishment. And τέκνα, Children, does denote a Society, Number or Rank of Persons: so τέκνα σοφίας, Wisdom's Children, Luk. vii. 35. that is the Number of those who apply themselves to the study of Wisdom. And in the like manner τέκνα φωτός, Children of Light, Eph. v. 8. i. e. the number of those who have Hearts illuminated by divine Truths, or those who endeavour to attain the Light of the other World. On the like account the τέκνα ὀργῆς, the Children of Wrath or Punishment, does signify the Number of those, whom God has or shall inflict Punishment upon; and seems to be a Hebrew Phrase, to denote condemned Persons, or those upon whom judicial Sentence has passed. So that, if this Passage of the Apostle to the Ephesians refers to Mens actual Sins, which they were in under their Natural, i. e. Jewish or Heathen State before their Conversion to Christianity (as is most probable from the words, our Conversation in times past in the Lusts of our Flesh) then Children of Wrath signifies those, who, if they continue in their wicked Course, God will put under Sentence of eternal Death, at the general Judgment. But if it relates to Original Sin (as S. Austin, Prosper and other antient Writers in the Pelagian Controversie will have it) then

Spirit; and therefore in every Person born into this World, it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation; and this Infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are baptized, whereby the Lust of the Flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the Wisdom, some the Sensuality, some the Affection, some the Desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And

Damnation: And this Infection of Nature doth remain in * them that are regenerated, whereby the Lust of the Flesh, called in Greek, *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the Wisdom, some Sensuality, some the Affection, some the Desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And though there is no Condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the A-

etiam in renatis hæc natura depravatio. Qua fit ut affectus carnis Græcè *φρόνημα σαρκός*, quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis interpretantur, legi Dei non subjiaciatur. Et quamquam renatis & credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam, fatetur Apostolus.

* Them that be Regenerated, MS. CCCC. 1571.

then by Children of Wrath must be denoted the number of those who are sentenced to die, by reason of Adam's Transgression, i. e. all Mankind, who as being descended from him must share his Punishment, and, during their natural State, can have no hopes of being freed from it. In the second Passage, viz. the judgment was by one to Condemnation, Rom. v. 16. the word *κατάκριμα* does not signify eternal Damnation or Condemnation, but only the Sentence or Condemnation of Temporal Death. For the meaning of this is explained in the next verse, For if by one Man's offence Death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of Grace and of the gift of Righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ. Wherein the Resurrection to Life is opposed to the Sentence to Death, inflicted upon Adam and his Posterity. Which Opposition the Apostle makes use of in other Places, as 1 Cor. xv. 22. As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.

e Infection of Nature doth remain.]

Pelagians objected that the Orthodox invalidated the force of Baptism.

I. It was a Calumny raised by the Pelagians against the Orthodox, that they did invalidate the Efficacy of Baptism, by asserting that any Sin or Stain in the Soul remained after it. For thus S. Austin reports their Objection.

Nec omnia dicitis peccata remitti in Baptismo, si aliquod in baptizatis conjugibus remanet, ex quo regenerantur [forte generantur] mali. You say that all Sins are not remitted in Baptism, if there remains any in married Persons baptized, by whom evil Persons are generated. Lib. ii. contr. Julian. And again, Dicunt etiam, baptismum non dare omnium indulgentiam peccatorum: nec auferre crimina, sed rudere, ut omnium peccatorum radices in mala carne teneantur. They (i. e. the Catholics) pretend that Baptism does not afford us pardon for all Sins; nor does it so much take away Crimes as prune them, so that all the Roots of all Sins are yet preserved in the evil Flesh. Aug. Lib. i. ad Bonif. c. 13.

II. But for all these Scoffs of the Pelagians, the Orthodox maintained, That the Infection of Nature does remain after Baptism, and particularly that these Struggles and Rebellions of the Animal Nature are purposely left in us by God, for an exercise of our

The Catholics taught that the Infection was left for a Trial of Faith.

Faith, and to excite our Vigilance and Constancy in guarding against them. For thus S. Austin. Evacuatur per Baptismum caro peccati, non ut in ipsa vivente carne concupiscentia conspersa, & innata repente absumatur & non sit: sed ne cõsit mortuo, quæ inerat nato. Nam si post baptismum vixerit, atque ad ætatem capacem præcepti pervenire potuerit, ibi habet cum qua pugnet; eamque, adjuvante Deo, superat, si non in vacuum gratiam ejus susceperit, si reprobatus esse noluerit. The sinful Flesh is purged in Baptism, yet not so as that the Concupiscence which is

mixed and born with it is totally consumed, so as no longer to have any being; but that that which was in a Man alive may prejudice him when dead. For if the party lives after Baptism, and comes to an Age, as to be capable of obeying the Precept, he has something wherewith he may combat, and by the assistance of God overcome, if he does not receive the Grace of God in vain, and be not a Reprobate. Aug. de Peccat. mer. &c. Lib. i. cap. 39. And presently afterwards speaking of Concupiscence he has this Expression. Ipsa soluto reatus vinculo, quo illam Diabolus animam retinebat, & interclusione destructa, quæ hominem a suo creatore separabat, manet in certamine, quo corpus nostrum castigamus, & servituti subicimus, vel ad usus licitos, & necessarios relaxanda, vel continentia cohibenda. That (i. e. Concupiscence) the bond of the Guilt being loosed, by which the Devil held the Soul fast, and the partition wall being thrown down, which separated Man from his Creator, it remains for an Exercise to us, to chasten our Body and to get the mastery over it, either by gratifying it in lawful and necessary Uses, or exercising our Continence. Ibid.

III. Nor is this Doctrine grounded only upon the Opinion and Reason of the Catholics, but upon the express Assertions of the holy Scriptures. For the Apostle says, The Flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would, Gal. v. 17. S. James excepts no Person from being subject to the Temptation of his Lust. Every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed, Jam. i. 14. And the Spiritual Combat of the Soul with its Lusts, is thus described by S. Peter. Dearly beloved, I beseech you as Strangers and Pilgrims, abstain from fleshly Lusts, which war against the Soul, 1 Pet. ii. 4.

f Lust of the Flesh.] The Place of What the *φρόνημα* Scripture here referred to, is Rom. viii. *σαρκός*.

7. The carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the Law of God, nor indeed can be. Here our Translators have rendered *φρόνημα σαρκός* carnal mind, and in the verse before carnally minded: neither of which Versions, if they are just, are literal enough; for as *φρόνημα* signifies to think, so *φρόνημα* signifies Thought; and whereas the Hebrews and Hellenists express an Adjective by a second Substantive, so *φρόνημα σαρκός* signifies the same as *φρόνημα σαρκικόν*, fleshly thought, or carnal Desire. The vulgar renders it by sapientia, and prudentia carnis, the Wisdom of the Flesh, but that is to restrain *φρόνημα* to too narrow a Sense. S. Chrysostom explains it by *παραχρησῆς & διαβολὰς ὁρμή*, a gross Impetus of Thought, Chrys. in loc. and Theodoret by *παραχρησῆς & ὁρμὴ διαβολαί*; and *γροῦδὲς & διαβολὰς ὁρμή*; gross and material thoughts, and an impetus of thought that tends to the ground. Theod. in Rom. viii.

g Concupiscence

although there is no Condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that Concupiscence and Lust hath of it self the nature of Sin.

postle doth confess, that^s Concupiscence and Lust hath of it self the nature of Sin.

How Concupiscence is Sin. g Concupiscence and Lust hath of it self the Nature of Sin.] It is observable here, that the Compilers of our

Articles here, do not say, That Concupiscence has only then the Nature of Sin, when it is ripened into outward Act, or has the Will consenting to it, but that it has the Nature of Sin of it self, antecedently to the Compliance of the Will, and before it is reduced into Act. And moreover it's observable that they do not say, That Concupiscence is a Sin properly so called, as when Men voluntarily comply with a Temptation, or do an unlawful Action; but only that it hath the Nature of Sin. Now a thing may have the Nature of Sin, or be deemed a Sin in a large and figurative Sense, to which no Act of the Will is consenting. Now the Nature of Sin does partly consist, in a Deflection from the Rectitude of the divine Rule, which must make it for that Reason disagreeable to the Divine Wisdom and Goodness, and consequently render the Persons, who are the Subject of this Deflection or Depravation, out of favour with God. For no one can say, that the Lusts and Passions of our animal Nature, and those Tendencies to Vice which we all of us feel within our selves, are as pleasing to God, as if all our Appetites were perfectly calm and quiet, and were continually in that exact Obedience and Conformity to our Reason, and the Rules which God has prescribed, as they would have been, if Man had continued in his unflawed State.

And this Doctrine was maintained by S. Austin himself, in the midst of his most vigorous Opposition to the Pelagian Tenets. For he does not look upon it as a Sin properly so called, unless the Consent of the Will go along with it. For explaining those words of S. James, Every one is tempted when he is drawn aside by his own Lusts, &c. he speaks thus, *Pariens enim est concupiscentia, partus peccatum. Sed concupiscentia non parit, nisi conceperit; non concipit nisi illexerit: hoc est ad malum perpetrandum obtinuerit voluntatis assensum.* The Mother is Concupiscence, the Child Sin. But Concupiscence does not bring forth unless it conceive; and it does not conceive unless it draw aside, i. e. has gained the Consent of the Will to an evil Action. Lib. vi. cont. Jul. cap. 3. And so in his Letter to Asellius. *Quamvis in sint, dum simus in cor-*

pore mortis hujus, desideria peccati; si nulli eorum adhiberemus assensum, non esset unde diceremus Patri nostro, qui est in Caelis Demitte nobis debita nostra. Although there be in this Body of Death desires of sinning, if we give our assent to none of them, we could not say to our Father which is in Heaven, Forgive us our trespasses. Aug. Ep. cc. ad Asell. From whence it is plain, that S. Austin did not look upon Concupiscence, to be among the number of those Sins, which being proper and voluntary, Forgiveness is prayed for them, in the Lord's Prayer.

But yet in a large and figurative Sense, he looked upon Concupiscence (as we do) to have the Nature of Sin. (1.) Upon account of its Rebellion and Disobedience to Reason and the superior Faculties. *Concupiscentia carnis, adversus quam bonus concupiscit spiritus, & peccatum est, quia inest ei inobedientia contra dominatum mentis, &c.* The lust of the Flesh against which the Spirit lusteth, is therefore a Sin, because it is a Rebellion against the Government of Reason, &c. Aug. Lib. v. in Jul. c. 3. And so again, *Neque enim nulla est iniquitas, si in uno homine vel superiora inferioribus turpiter serviant, vel inferiora superioribus contumaciter rebellentur, etiam si vincere non sinantur.* Nor is it no Sin that in Man the superior Faculties basely serve the Inferior, or the Inferior contumaciously rebel against the Superior, though they are not suffered to Conquer them. Aug. Lib. vi. contr. Jul. cap. 8. (2.)

It has the Nature of Sin, Because the Temptation is suggested with some degree of Delight: *Quia peccandi delectatione movetur, esse ei vincente delectatione justitiae non consentiatur: Because it is moved with a delight of sinning, although it be not consented to, by the Superior force of the delight in Goodness.* Aug. cont. 2. Pelag. Ep. Lib. iii. c. 13. (3.) Because Concupiscence exposes us to the Hatred of God. For speaking of this, S. Austin says, *Non ergo Deus quaedam peccata damnat, quaedam justificat & laudat: nulli laudat sed odit omnia.* God does not condemn some Sins, and justify and commend others: he praises none, but hates all. And of Concupiscence in particular he says, *Deus odit & curando agit, ut consumatur.* God hates it, and therefore provides a Cure, that it may be lessened. Lib. ii. cont. Jul.

1. Concupiscence is a Sin, because it rebels against the Superior Faculties.

2. Because the Temptation is received with delight.

3. Because it exposes us to the Hatred of God.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE X.

IX. Of Free-will.

* Of Free-will.

X. De libero arbitrio.

We have no Power to do good Works pleasant and acceptable to God, with-

The Condition of Man, after the Fall of Adam, is such, that he cannot turn and pre-

Ea est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis viribus, & bo-

* Good Will and working in us. MS. CCCC. 1571.

That the Liberty of the Will was impaired by the Fall, the Doctrine of holy Scripture.

a The Condition of Man after the Fall is such, &c.] I. It has been shewn before, by what has been said upon the former Article, that it has been the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures and of the ancient Church, That a very great Corruption has befallen human Nature

since the Fall, That our Bodies have not only been subject to Diseases and Mortality, but That our Souls, having lost that divine Grace, which was habitually or naturally planted in our first Parents, (and which, had they not sinned, would have descended down to their Posterity) are now more exposed to Temptations, and have a greater Prowess to Sin, than to Goodness. This happy State of our first Parents, we before said, was called by the name of *Original Rectitude or Righteousness*. That they were endowed with such a noble Quality, the Scripture does attest. *God hath made man upright*, Eccl. vii. 29. and the same is not obscurely proved from those words, in the History of the Creation, *God made man after his own image and likeness*, Gen. i. 27. Indeed the Socinians, and their Followers, will have the Resemblance, or Image of God, which Man was created after, to consist only in Dominion over the Creatures; but this is a jejune Interpretation. And *S. Paul*, who understood Scripture as well as they, took it in another Sense, as is plain by these Passages. *Ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him*, Col. iii. 10. *Be renewed in the spirit of your mind: and that ye may put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness, and true holiness*, Eph. iv. 23, 29. In this Comparison between Christ and Adam, the Benefits conferred by the one, and the Miseries entailed upon us by the other, such express mention being made of the Image of God being renewed by the one, as it was depraved by the other; it must necessarily follow, that the first Man was created with original Knowledge, Righteousness and Holiness. Therefore, as Man's Knowledge and intellectual Capacities were impaired by the Fall, so was the Liberty of his Will and his natural Indifferency, to do Good or Evil at his Pleasure, weakened, and for the future all his Biases lay on the worse side. This the holy Scripture asserts, when it says, tho' with particular relation to the *Antediluvians*, that *God saw the wickedness of man was great upon the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually*, Gen. vi. 5.

The same the Doctrine of the ancient Divines of the Church before the Pelagian Controversie.

II. The like was the Doctrine of the ancient Divines of the Christian Church, as well before, as after the Pelagian Controversie.

IRENÆUS says, that one of the main ends of Christ's coming into the World was, to redeem us from this Captivity, which this Misfortune had laid our Souls under. *Verbum potens & homo verus, sanguine suo rationabiliter redimens nos: redemptionem semetipsum dedit, pro his qui in captivitate ducti sunt. Christ the powerful Word, and true Man, reasonably redeeming us by his Blood, has given himself for those who were led into Captivity*. Iren. Lib. v. c. 1.

TERTULLIAN says, that in Mens natural State, and without the Grace of God assisting, there is a Perverseness in their Nature, which hinders them from doing Good. *Nihil verum in his, qui Deum nesciunt, præsidem & magistrum veritatis. Perversa sunt omnia, quæ a Deo non sunt. There is nothing true in them, who are ignorant of God's Being, the President and the Master of Truth. For all which is not from God must be cross and perverse.* Tert. de cult. fam.

S. AMBROSE very lively describes the Blindness and Captivity of the Will, since the Fall, in these words. *Inde tracta mortalitas, & non minor miserationum multitudo quam criminum. Fide perdita, spe relicta, intelligentia obsecata, voluntate captiva, nemo in se unde repararetur invenit. Sine cultu veri Dei, etiam quod virtus videtur esse peccatum est: nec placere ullus Deo, sine Deo potest. Qui vero Deo non placet, cui nisi sibi & Diabolo placet? Quæ ergo natura erat bona, qualitate facta est mala. Homo non rediret, nisi Deus eam converteret. From thence came Mortality, and not a smaller number of Miseries than of Crimes. Faith being lost, Hope being left, the Understanding being darkened, the WILL CAPTIVATED, no one found any means by which he might be repaired. Without the worship of the true God, that which seems to be Virtue is Sin; neither can any one please God, without God. But he that does not please God, whom does he please but himself and the Devil? That Nature which was once Good, by habit is made Evil. And Man would never return, unless God turned him.* Ambr. de voc. gent. Lib. i. cap. 3.

S. CHRYSOSTOM, Hom. xxix. in Gen. expresses the Weakness of the Will, since the Fall, in these words. *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμαρτία, ἐλυμῆναι τὸ ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ δυνάμειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ φύσεως δεδομένον θεούαν [forte ἀξίαν] καὶ δυνάμειν ἐπεισάγαγαν. After Sin entered it destroyed Liberty, corrupted the Strength or Power [or Dignity] of the Soul given by Nature, and brought upon her Slavery.*

S. JEROM denies, that there is such a freedom of Will in Mens Actions to do Acts of Virtue, but that they are beholding to God's Grace, for Assistance therein. *Ubi sunt ergo, qui dicunt hominem proprio posse regi arbitrio, & sic datam Liberi arbitrii potestatem, ut Dei Misericordia tollatur atque Justitia? Where now are they, who say that Man is so governed by a Free Will, as to leave no room for the Mercy and Righteousness of God? Hier. in Jerem. cap. ix.*

b Cannot turn and prepare, &c. without the Grace of God preventing us, &c.] These words are added, in Opposition to the Opinion of those, who denied God's preventing Grace, tho' they owned his concurring or assisting. The latter being only denied by the Pelagians, the former by those whom they called formerly Semipelagians.

Of the Semipelagians.

I. And here it will be requisite to speak something, concerning the Persons who went under that Name. It must be observed, that *S. Austin*, who had undertaken to be the greatest Champion against the Pelagian Heresie, managed every Ar-

The Rise, Progress and Doctrine of the Semipelagians.

X argument

out the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a Good Will, and working in us when we have that Will.

pare himself, by his own natural Strength and good Works to Faith, and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good Works, pleasant and acceptable to God,

nis operibus, ad fidem & invocationem Dei convertere ac preparare non possit. Quare absque gratia Dei (quæ per Christum est) nos præveniente, ut velimus,

gument that he urged against it with a Force and Vehemence, that he thought would bear the hardest upon his Adversary, and run the most contrary to them. As Pelagius had asserted the intire Liberty of Man's Will since the Fall, S. Austin brought the Infirmitie of it to the lowest Degree, ascribing every part of a good Action perfectly to God's Grace, as particularly in his Epistle to Sixtus, his Book de Libero Arbitrio, de Correctione & Gratia. Some Expressions therein gave Offence to some learned Bishops and Presbyters of the Provinces of Lyons and Arles in France, particularly those of Marsili. The chief of these were Johannes Cassianus, who lived at Marsili, a Monk renowned for Learning and Sanctity: Faustus Reiensis, a Briton by Birth, and Abbot of the Abby of Lier; Hilary Bishop of Arles; and the famous Vincentius Lirinensis. Their chief Error was, that they asserted the Beginning of Righteousness or Salvation was from our own selves, and that we had a Will and a Faith antecedent to any Influx of God's Grace, and which did incline him to bestow it. They maintained some other Points against S. Austin and his Scholars, as particularly Universal Grace, That there is no absolute Predestination; That Men may fall from Grace, and That Grace is not irresistible. But none of these Doctrines entituled them to be filled Hereticks, nor to have their Opinions condemned by publick Authority, during the course of many Years. When S. Austin managed the Dispute with them himself, he calls them, *Fratres & Dilectores nostros, my Brethren and loving Friends*, Aug. Lib. de don. Perfer. Afterwards when Prosper came to take up the Controversie, he calls them Catholicks. *Quis hæc prædicari a Catholicis inter Catholicos crederet? Who can believe that such Doctrines should be taught by Catholicks, and among Catholicks?* Prosp. contr. Collat. cap. 33. And the hardest word he gives them is that of Calumniators, because they found fault with his Master S. Austin's Doctrine. This Book of Prosper's, however, gave Offence to the Semipelagians, who published fifteen absurd and erroneous Propositions drawn out of it; to which Prosper replied in his Treatise, intituled, *Responsio ad Capitula Gallorum*. Not long after, Vincentius Lirinensis published an Index of sixteen blasphemous Propositions, which those, who maintained S. Austin's Doctrines, were guilty of. These were likewise answered by Prosper in a Treatise, intituled, *Ad Capitula objectionum Vincentianarum Responsiones*. These Controversies not being ended by Writing, Superior Power was at last called in to put a Period to them. The Tenets of the Semipelagians were condemned by a Synod of the African Bishops, who were then under Banishment in Sardania, and Fulgentius was ordered to write against them. *Id. Hist. c. 14.* Casarius Bishop of Arles not only wrote against them, but engaged Felix III. Bishop of Rome, to condemn their Opinions; and to get them to be anathematized in the second Council of Orange. A. D. DXXXIX. They were likewise condemned by the Council of Valentia; and the Decrees of both Councils were confirmed by Pope Boniface II. Ep. Bonif. A. D. 530.

II. As to the Doctrine of preventing Grace, the Denial whereof was their chiefest Error, this is grounded upon the express Words and frequent Attestation of holy Scripture. *No man, saith our Saviour, can come unto me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him.* John vi. 44. *Who maketh thee, saith St. Paul, to differ from another? and what hast thou that didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?* 1 Cor. iv. 7. This Passage of Scripture seemed so forcible to S. Austin for the support of Preventing Grace, that whereas he in his younger Days was inclinable to the Semipelagian Doctrine in this Point, this perfectly convinced him of his Error. *Quo præ-*

cipuo testimonio ipse convictus sum, cum similiter errorem, putans fidem qua in Deum credimus non esse donum Dei, sed a nobis esse in nobis, & per illam nos impetrare Dei dona, quibus temperanter & justè & pie vivamus in hoc seculo. By which Testimony chiefly, I my self was converted, when I was in the same Error, thinking that Faith by which we believe in God, is not the Gift of God, but is in us from our selves, and that by this we desire the Gifts of God, to live Soberly, Righteously and Godly in this present World. Aug. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 3. S. Paul declares, concerning his Conversion to the Gospel, That he obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, 1 Cor. vii. 25. Upon which Words S. Austin well remarks. *Non, dixit misericordiam consecutus sum, quia fidelis eram, sed ut fidelis essem: hinc ostendens etiam ipsam fidem haberi, nisi Deo miserante non posse, & esse donum Dei.* He does not say he obtained Mercy, because he was Faithful, but that he might be Faithful: shewing from hence, that Faith is self cannot be obtained, but only by the Mercy of God, and that this is the Gift of God. Aug. de grat. & lib. arb. c. 7. The same Apostle declares in favour of this Truth, in these Words, *By grace ye are saved, thro' faith; and that not of your selves, it is the gift of God,* Eph. ii. 8. And elsewhere. *Not that we are sufficient of our selves, to think any thing as of our selves, but our sufficiency is of God,* 2 Cor. iii. 5. With these Words, S. Austin presses home upon the Adversaries of this Truth. *Attendunt hic & verba ista perpendant, qui putant ex nobis esse fidei caput, & ex Deo esse fidei supplementum. Quis enim non videat prius esse cogitare quam credere? Nullus quippe credit aliquid, nisi prius cogitaverit esse credendum.* Let those attend here and weigh these words, who think the beginning of Faith is from our selves, and that the increase of our Faith is from God. For who does not see, that Men must think before they believe? For no one can believe, unless he first think what he is to believe. Aug. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 2.

III. Nor is this only the Doctrine of the Scripture, and of those who were engaged against the Pelagian and Semipelagian Doctrines, but even of those antient Fathers, who wrote before these Controversies began. It is true indeed, that in some Places of their Writings, when they are opposing the Manichean and Stoical Doctrines, or enforcing the Duties of Christian Watchfulness and Assiduity, they may let fall some Expressions, in which they may seem to lay more Stress upon Mens Freedom of Will and natural Strength, than will bear the nicest Scanning. But when they speak of Grace and the Divine Assistance, they attribute as much thereunto as those, who wrote professedly against them, that were tainted with the Pelagian Tenets.

JUSTIN Martyr acknowledges, that the Power of understanding the Truth, does proceed from the divine Assistance. *Εὐχαρίστησις τοῦ πατρὸς πάντες ἀποχθίναι πύλας. Οὐ δὲ συνόντα ἐστὶ συνόντα πᾶσιν ὅτιν, ἐν μὲν τῷ Θεῷ δὲ συνόντα, καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀντὶ.* Do you pray, that before all things the Gates of Light may be opened. For they are not perceivable or intelligible by any, but to him, to whom God and his Christ shall give to understand. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph.

CLEMENT of Alexandria, Strom. Lib. vii. asserts, that God gives his Grace before we ask it. *Εὐχαρίστησις ἡ ἀγαθὴν μετὰ δόσεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνὰ προλαμπάνην τῆς αἰτήσεως.* His voluntary Gift anticipates our Petition.

MACARIUS in his Homilies says, that God, by the Gift of his holy Spirit, prevents our Petitions: *Προπαύσας ἡμῶν τὰ χαρίσματα, καὶ τὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δακρύματα.* Mac. Hom. xxix.

S. CHRYSOSTOM asserts, that Faith, by which we assent to the Gospel Truths, doth not proceed from our selves, but from God. *Μὴδὲν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have * a good Will, and *& cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, que Deo grata sunt &*

* This Article not in, MS. CCCC. 1562.

πῶς καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις, ἢ ἡμέτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεονεξθεῖ. ἀπὸ Παύλου λέγοντος. καὶ τὰ πλεονεξθεῖ ἡμῶν, θεὸς τὸ δῶρον. Let us think nothing to be our own, forasmuch as Faith it self is not our Work. For that it is not our Work, but rather that of God, let us hear S. Paul saying, it is not of our selves, it is the Gift of God. Chrys. Hom. xxx. in Act.

ISIDORE Pelusiot, his excellent Scholar, follows his Master S. Chrysostom, in delivering the like Doctrine: for thus he speaks of God's Grace. Ἡ δὲ τὰς καθυπνόντας διαγύσσει, καὶ τὰς μὴ βυλομένους περτρέπεται, ἢ ἂν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἢ ἀρετὴν ἐγκαταλείψει, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπεριφέρει καὶ εἰς τὴν αἰσίων τὸ κατέρθμα ἀξίαν. That which rouses up those who sleep, and spurs on those who are unwilling, will never be wanting to those, who voluntarily seek after Virtue, but will rather assist them, and bring them to a happy End, and Perfection. Ibid. Lib. iv. Ep. 13.

S. AMBROSE in his Book de Fuga Seculi says, Non est in potestate cor nostrum, & nostræ cogitationes: Our Hearts and our Thoughts are not in our Power. And in his Comment upon S. Luke's Preface to his Gospel, It seemed good to me, he has these words. Potest non sibi visum esse, quod sibi visum esse declarat; non enim voluntate tantum humana visum est, sed sicut placuit ei, qui in me loquitur Christus, qui ut id quod bonum est, nobis quoque videri bonum possit, operatur. That may not seem good to him only, which he declares seems good to him: for it seemed good not only by human Will, but as it pleased Christ who speaks in me: who works in us that that may seem good to us, which seems good to him.

IV. But those Divines, who wrote professedly in defence of Preventive Grace, against the Pelagians and Semipelagians, have argued in behalf of it from these following Heads. 1. From the Nature of Grace, which, as the Word imports, denotes a Freedom of Gift, without any regard to preceding Merit. For thus S. Austin argues against this Opinion. Videte, si aliud agitur isto modo, nisi ut gratia Dei secundum merita nostra detur quolibet modo, ac si gratia jam non sit gratia. Redditur namque hoc pacto debita, non donatur gratis. See now what else this Opinion (viz. of God's Grace coming after Mens pious Desires) infers, but only that the Grace of God is given according to Merit, and so Grace shall not be Grace. For according to this Notion, it is a Debt paid, and not a Gift conferred. Aug. de Præd. sanct. c. 2.

So Prosper in his Poem de Ingratis.

Usque adeo donum est quod credimus, & data gratis Gratia, non merita datat mercede vocatos.

Faith is the Gift of God, 'tis Grace bestow'd Freely, without regard to previous Good.

(2.) Another Argument for preventing Grace they draw from the Nature of Faith; which being the Beginning and Foundation of Salvation, as Salvation cannot be obtained without Grace, so neither can Faith, the Foundation and Ground of it, be attained without the same. Thus S. Austin, having cited some Passages of Scripture for God's Grace in bringing to Faith, thus argues. Nolo ergo his tam claris testimoniis repugnare, & tamen volo a seipso sibi esse quod credit, quasi componit homo cum Deo, ut partem fidei sibi vendicat, atque illi partem relinquit; & quod est elatius, primam tollit ipse, sequentem dat illi: & in eo quod dicit esse amorum, priorem se facit, posteriorem Deum. The Pelagian is unwilling to deny these express Testimonies of Scripture, and yet he is willing to think that 'tis from himself that he believes: as if Man compounded with God, challenging part to himself, and leaving part to God: nay, what is the more arrogant, takes the first himself, and leaves the remaining to him: and, by saying that both have a share, he makes himself the first and God the last. Aug. ibid. (3.) Another Argument for preventing Grace, they draw from the Divine Promises made in Scripture to Faith: the making good of which Promises,

does not depend upon the Will of Man; for then God would be beholding to Man to make good his Promises. For thus S. Austin argues upon the Promise made to Abraham. Dicit Apostolus ideo ex fide, ut secundum gratiam firma sit promissio omni semini, non de nostra voluntatis potestate, sed de sua prædestinatione promissit. Promissit enim quod ipse facturum fuerat, non quod homines. The Apostle saith of Faith, that according to Grace the promise might be firm to every Seed: he did not promise, according to the Power of our will, but according to what he had purposed. For he promised what he himself would do, not what Men would do. Aug. ib. c. 10. (4.) Another Argument for preventing Grace was drawn from the Prayers of the Church for Conversion of Infidels; for Men pray to God for what is in his Power, not that of Men. For thus S. Austin reasons with great Smartness against the Pelagian. Exerce contra orationes Ecclesiæ disputationes tuas, & quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, & pro Catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, & pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse ceperunt, ejus manere perseverent, subfanna pias voces, & dic te non facere quod hortatur, id est, Deum pro infidelibus, ut eos fideles faciat, non rogare, eo quod non sint ista divina miserationis beneficia, sed humana officia voluntatis. And now set your Disputations against the Prayers of the Church, and when you hear the Priest of God at the Altar exhorting the People to pray for the Unbelievers, that God would convert them to the Faith; and for the Faithful, that they may persevere in what they have begun; do, laugh at the pious Prayers, and say that you will not do as he exhorts you, i. e. that you will not pray to God, that he would make Believers of the Infidels, because this is not a Benefit of the Divine Mercy, but is owing to the Curtesie of human Will. Aug. Ep. cviii. ad Vitalem.

V. It is farther to be observed, that the Doctrine of preventing Grace is more incultated in the publick Service of our Church, than any one Doctrine besides, it being so essentially Necessary to beget in Men an Earnestness and Humility in their Devotion. This Doctrine we have recommended in the ordinary Service for the Evening, every Day throughout the Year. O God, from whom all holy DESIRES, all good Counsels, and just Works do proceed. Second Col. for Ev. Prayer. The same Doctrine is taught in the Communion Service of our Church. PREVENT us, O Lord, in all our Doings---that in all our Works BEGUN, continued, &c. Fourth Collect after the Offertory. The Collects for the Sundays and Saints Days, throughout the Year, do abound with Passages, which set forth the same Doctrine. We humbly beseech thee, that, as by thy special GRACE PREVENTING us thou dost put into our Minds good desires, so by thy continual help, &c. Collect for Easter-day. Grant to us thy humble Servants, that by thy holy Inspiration we may THINK those things that be good, &c. Fifth Sund. aft. East. Grant that we to whom thou hast granted an hearty DESIRE to pray, &c. Third Sund. aft. Trin. Grant to us Lord, we beseech thee, the Spirit to THINK and do such things as be rightful, &c. Ninth Sund. aft. Trin. Lord, we pray thee, that thy Grace may always PREVENT and follow us, &c. Seventeenth Sund. aft. Trin. Mercifully grant that thy holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our HEARTS, &c. Nineteenth Sund. aft. Trin. Stir up, we beseech thee, the WILLS of thy faithful people, &c. Twenty-fifth Sund. aft. Trin. So that, upon the whole, no Doctrine can be more expressly the Doctrine of any Church, than that of preventing Grace is of ours.

c Without the Grace of God---working in us, &c.]

Of Assisting Grace.

I. As the Doctrine of preventing Grace was denied by the Semipelagians, so the Doctrine of assisting Grace, and indeed all Grace in general, was denied by the Pelagians. That this was their Tenet, appears,

& cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, que Deo grata sunt &

The Doctrine of Preventing Grace particularly incultated by our Church.

Assisting Grace denied by the Pelagians.

working with us when we have *accepta, nihil vale-*
that good Will. *mus.*

pears, not only by the Writings of those Divines of the Church who wrote against them, and charge it home upon them from their own Books, but also from the Decrees of the Councils which condemned them. For thus S. Jerom speaks concerning them. *Ita Dei gratiam ponunt, ut non per singula opera ejus nitamur & regamur auxilio, sed ad liberum referunt arbitrium.* They so lay down the Grace of God, that we do rely upon, and are governed by his Assistance in all our Actions, but attribute this to Man's Free-will. Hier. ad Ctesiph. *Ipsam liberum (ut diximus) arbitrium Dei innititur auxilio, illiusque per singula ope indiget, quod vos non vultis, sed id vultis, ut qui semel habet liberum arbitrium, Deo adjutore non egeat.* Our Free-will (as we before said) depends upon the Assistance of God, so that it wants his help in every Action, which you Pelagians will not own; but this you own, that he that has once Free-will does not stand in need of God for his Helper. Hier. ibid. The same is imputed to them by the Fathers of the Second Council of Carthage, who condemned their Errors. *Per-suadere non cessant ad operandam perficiendamque justitiam, & Dei mandata complendo, solam sibi humanam posse sufficere naturam, non attendentes, quod scriptum est, spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram. Et non est volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei.* They do not forbear to teach, that for the working and perfecting Righteousness, and for the fulfilling the Law of God, human Nature is sufficient: not attending to what is written. The Spirit helpeth our Infirmities. It is not of him that willeth or runneth, but of God that sheweth Mercy.

II. But, as this Doctrine was denied by these Hereticks, so it is expressly asserted by the Holy Scriptures. That there was a certain Influx or Blessing of God, which assisted Men in transacting of Goodness, and quickened their good Desires or Resolutions, was a Doctrine received in the Jewish Church, and clearly set down in many Places of the old Testament. The Devotional Books of Scripture are full of this. *Turn thou us unto thee* (saith the Author of the Lamentations) *and so shall we be turned,* Lam. v. 21. The holy Psalmist begs of God, that he would open his Eyes to behold the wonderful things of the Law, Psal. cxix. 18. *to make him understand the way of God's Precepts,* v. 27. *to incline his heart to God's Testimonies,* v. 36. *to create in him a clean heart,* Psal. li. 1. But this is a Truth more clearly revealed in the new Testament. Our Saviour promises, that his heavenly Father would give the holy Spirit to them that ask him, Luke xi. 13. And declares, that without him we can do nothing, John xv. 5. The Apostles inform us, that, in our Spiritual Concerns, God worketh all in all, 1 Cor. xii. 6. that God, who hath begun in us a good work, will perform it, Phil. i. 6. and that God worketh in us, to will and to do, of his good pleasure, Phil. ii. 13. S. James reads us the same Lesson. Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, Jam. i. 17.

III. The same was the Doctrine of the most antient Fathers of the Church. For though some of the Favourers of Pelagianism have asserted, that the Notion of Grace was first set up by those Fathers who wrote against Pelagius, whereas the Fathers who lived before, do ascribe as much to Free-will as Pelagius did; yet that this Assertion is false and groundless will appear by the following Testimonies.

JUSTIN in Dial. cum Tryph. declares, that the outward reading of the Scripture is not sufficient, but that there is moreover required the inward Illumination of God's Grace. *Εγώ δ' αὖ εἶπον, οἷός τε ἀνὴρ ἡμᾶς ποτε, ὃ ἀνδρες, νουθετεῖν δυνάμενος ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ θελήματι τῷ θελήσαντι αὐτὰ ἐλάβομεν χάριν τῷ νοῦσαι.* I answered, do you think, Sirs, that we could ever understand these things in the Scriptures, unless we had received GRACE by the Will of God to understand them?

IRENÆUS, Lib. iii. c. 22. writes thus. *Paulus infirmitatem hominis annuncians, ait, scio enim, quoniam non habitat in carne mea bonum, significans quoniam non a nobis, sed a Deo est bonum salutis nostræ.* S. Paul declaring the Weakness of Man, saith, I know that no good thing

dwelleth in my Flesh; signifying, that the good of our Salvation does not depend upon us, but upon God.

CLEMENS Alexandrinus, Strom. Lib. v. speaks thus. *Δὲ δ' ὅτι καὶ γινώσκοντες ὅτι καὶ ἀμετανοήτων περὶ τῆς θείας χάριτος καλῶς. περὶ ὅπερ μέγιστα τὸ θεῖον χρῆζομεν χάριτος, διδασκαλίας τε ὁρθῆς καὶ εὐπαθείας ἀγνῆς, καὶ τὴν πατρὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁλήν.* We ought to have a sound Mind, unwearied in the Prosecution of Virtue, for which we stand in need of the divine GRACE, right Doctrine, chaste and clean Affections, and the Father's drawing us to him.

ORIGEN, contr. Cels. Lib. iv. asserts, that God's Grace is requisite for the understanding of the Divine Truths. *Ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα μὴ δύναται χάρις ἐπιπνῖναι κρείστον καὶ θεοτέραν δυνάμει θεωρηθῆναι.* These things cannot become the subject of human Contemplation, without a better and more divine Inspiration. And elsewhere, *Χάριτι θεοῦ φωτίζοντι τὸ ἡγεμόνικον:* the GRACE of God enlightening our Understanding. Id. contr. Cels. Lib. v.

ATHANASIUS in Pass. & Cruc. Dom. *Διὰ τὸ τοῦτον ἐπονοῦντες ὡς ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου καὶ θεῶν χάρις αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατορθώματα: καὶ ὁ Παῦλος λαλῶν, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸς ὅστις ἐν αὐτῷ λαλῶν καὶ μετὰ καὶ θαυμαστά ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ Χριστῷ χάρις ὅτι ἡ ταῦτα ἐπεργάζετο.* For this reason he suffered as Man, that for Man he might procure things Divine and above Man. For all that is done well by Man is his Work. For if S. Paul says, that there is no other that speaketh in his but Christ, so when Man does great and remarkable Actions, it is the Grace of Christ which worketh these.

S. BASIL, Hom. in Psal. xxxiii. delivers this Doctrine concerning Grace. *Οὐ ἐκ δυνάμει ἀνθρώπου, ἢ ἐκ σοφίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅστις ἡ σωτηρία.* Salvation does depend, not on any Power or Wisdom of Men, but on the Grace of God. On the xlviiith Psalm he says, *δυνάμει καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ αὐτοτελείᾳ ἢ περὶ σωτηρίαν:* the Powers of the Soul are not sufficient for Salvation. And on Psal. cxv. *Πίστεις ἐχ' ἢ γεωμετρικαῖς ἀνάγκαις, ἀλλ' ἢ ταῖς τῷ πνεύματι ἐνεργείας ἐγγινομένην.* Faith doth not depend upon Geometrical Demonstrations, which they call Necessities, but insinuates it self into our Souls by an efficacious Operation.

GREG. NAZIANZEN, Orat. xxxi. highly blames those who do, *Τὸ πᾶν ἑαυτοῖς δίδόναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν τῷ ποιῶντι καὶ σοφίσαντι, καὶ χωρηγῶν τῷ καλῶν; impute all things to themselves, and nothing to him who gives us our Being and Wisdom, and is the Giver of all good things.* The same Father, in his Poem on human Virtue, has these remarkable Verses.

Ἐρχομαι ἐκ ἀγένης ἐν ἄλμασι κῶλα τιταίνων,
Κεῖσιν ἔχων προῖν, χεῖσιν δένει, ὄλβον ἀγῆτην,
Ὅς μὴ καὶ ἀπῆντα καὶ εὐδρυμένοντα τίθησι.
Κένε δ' ἐκτός. ἅπαντες ἐτάσια παῖγνια θέστος,
Καὶ νέκυες, ζῶντες, ὀδωδότες ἀμπλακίσιν.

I walk to purpose, every step I stride,
Whilst Christ inspires, and is my Strength and Guide,
And in my Race does Eyes and Limbs provide;
Without him Mankind is a foolish Toy,
A Carkase which does all around annoy.

S. CHRYSOSTOM, in Cor. xvi. Hom. xii. speaking upon those Words of the Apostle, *what hast thou which thou hast not received?* says. *Διὰ τὸ τοῦτο μὴ ἐν ἐδῇ, συννεσάλαθαι: καὶ ὁ σὸν ὅτι τὸ δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ δίδοντι.* εἰ γὰρ ἐλάβες, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκείνου ἐλάβες: εἰ δὲ παρ' ἐκείνου ἐλάβες, ὁ σὸν ἐλάβες: εἰ δὲ ὁ σὸν ἐλάβες, τί μέγα φρονεῖς, ὡς σὸν ἔχων; διὸ καὶ ἐπήγαγεν, Ἐἰ δὲ καὶ ἐλάβες, τί καυχᾶ, ὡς μὴ λαβὼν; For this reason we ought not to be exalted; for 'tis not thine which is given thee but that of the Giver. But if thou receive it from another, thou dost not receive thine own. And, if thou dost not receive thy own, why dost thou boast thyself, as if thou wert in Possession of thine own? therefore he adds, if thou hast received, why dost thou boast, as if thou hadst not received?

IV. The

ARTICLE XI.

XI. Of the Justification of Man.

Of the Justification of Man.

XI. De hominis Justificatione.

Justification by only Faith in Jesus

We are accounted righteous

Tantum propter meritum Domini ac

The same was the Doctrine of the most ancient Latin Fathers. IV. The more ancient Latin Fathers write in the same Strain. TERTULLIAN, in support of the same Truth says, *Non dabit enim arbor mala bonos fructus, si non inferatur; & bona malos dabit, si non colatur. Et lapides filii Abrahæ fient, si in fidem Abrahæ formentur. Et genimina viperarum, fructum penitentiae facient, si venena malignitatis expuerint. Hæc erit vis divina Gratia, potentior utique natura, habens in nobis subjacentem sibi liberi arbitrii potestatem, quod avertitur dicitur. An evil Tree will not bring forth good Fruit, unless it be ingrafted; and a good Tree will give evil Fruit, unless it be cultivated. So Stones shall become the Children of Abraham, if they be formed after the Faith of Abraham; and the Generation of Vipers shall bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance, if they throw off their venomous Malignity. For, this is the force of Divine GRACE, a more powerful sort of Nature, having the Freedom of Will subject to it, which is called the ἀντιθέσις. Tert. de An. cap. 31.*

S. CYPRIAN in Pr. Dom. says, *Hoc diebus & noctibus postulamus, ut sanctificatio & vivificatio, quæ Dei gratia sumitur, ipsius protectione servetur. This we beg day and night, that our Sanctification and enlivening, which took its beginning from the Grace of God, may be preserved by his Protection. And again, Oramus, ut fiat in nobis voluntas Dei, quæ ut fiat in nobis, opus est Dei voluntate, i. e. ope ejus & protectione, quia nemo suis viribus fortis est, sed Dei indulgentia & misericordia tutus est. We pray, that the Will of God may be done in us, to do which in us there is need of the Will of God, i. e. his Assistance and Protection, because no one is mighty by his own Strength, but is safe by the Indulgence and Mercy of God. Ibid.*

ARNOBIUS, Lib. ii. contr. gent. declares this as the Doctrine of the Christians. *At vero nos nobis nihil de nostra infirmitate promittimus, naturam intuentes nostram esse virium nullarum, & ab suis affectibus in omni rerum contentione superari. We do not promise any thing of our own Infirmité, looking upon our Nature to be of no Force, but that in every combat we are overcome by our Passions.*

S. HILARY in Psal. cxviii. delivers the like Doctrine. *Infirmi per naturam nostram erimus; adjuvandi igitur per gratiam ejus dirigendique sumus ut præceptorum ordinem justificationum consequamur. We are weak of our own Nature; and therefore we are to be assisted and directed by his Grace, to perform the whole course of God's Precepts.*

S. AMBROSE has much upon this Head, as he is cited by S. Austin, Lib. i. de Grat. Chr. But particularly this. *Nec ab initio immaculata (i. e. Hominis voluntas) humana enim hoc impossibile natura: sed per Dei gratiam & qualitatem sui, quia jam non peccat, fit ut immaculata videatur. Man's Will was not without fault from the beginning, for that was impossible for human Nature; but because now by the Grace of God, and his own quality Sin is not imputed to him, it seems as it were without fault. Ambr. in Luc. cit. ab August.*

I have spent perhaps more time in these Testimonies, than was absolutely necessary; but however I have done it to shew, that the Doctrine of Divine Grace is so essential a Doctrine of Christianity, that not only the holy Scriptures and the primitive Fathers assert it; but likewise to shew that the Christians could not in any Age maintain their Religion without it, it being necessary, not only for the discharge of Christian Duties, but for the Performance of our ordinary Devotions.

a Accounted righteous before God.] The rise of the Questions concerning Justification. I. The Question concerning Justification, which is shortly determined in this Article, is not only the oldest, but, by the Wrangles and Disputes of Divines about it, is become one of the most intricate Questions, in Divinity. It began in St. Paul's Time, when many of the Jewish Converts stickled for the Observation of the Mosaic Law, being carried down, (though sometimes pretty silently) through the several following Ages; but at the time of the Reformation it broke out again with great fierceness, and is not yet wholly allayed, either between Protestants and Papists, or among Protestants themselves. But the main Reason of all this Quarrel has been, because Men have had different Notions of being justified, different Notions of Faith, and so likewise of Works, some meaning one thing by these Words and some another; disputing in the Dark, fastening upon their Adversaries what they never affirmed, and themselves affirming things sometimes False, sometimes Obscure or Uncertain; whereby has been occasioned, that what has been generally written upon this Subject, has not been intelligible either to the Readers, or the Writers themselves. It will be requisite therefore to shew, what is the Meaning of these Words, as they are used in Scripture; which will be the best Key to resolve all the Difficulties, which may be started concerning these Points: for all the contending Parties do agree, that the Sense they themselves put upon the Words (whatever it be) is the Scriptural Sense.

II. To begin with the Words justified, or Justification. The Greek word, *δικαίωσις*, which the Writers of the New Testament make use of to denote this, is *What is meant in Scripture by the word justified.* *δικαίωσις*; which signifies to absolve, to acquit, or to declare any one a righteous Person, notwithstanding any Imputation, or Accusation which may be laid against him. And so it is used by the Writers of the Gospels: *ἐδικαίωθη ἡ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν τέκνων*: Wisdom is justified of her Children, i. e. the good Lives of the sincere Professors of the true Religion, will acquit it of the Imputations, that are raised against it. *Mat. xi. 19.* So the Publican went out of the Temple, *δικαιωμένος* justified, i. e. acquitted of the Crimes of his Life which he repented of, *Luke xviii. 14.* And so innumerable times in St. Paul's Epistles. *By the works of the Law, ἡ δικαιοσύνη πᾶσα σαρξ: no flesh shall be justified, i. e. no Man can have his Sins pardoned, by performing the Mosaic Ordinances, Rom. iii. 28.* So again, we conclude, *πίστει δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος, that by faith a man is justified, &c. Rom. iii. 28.* And so *δικαιοῦντες ἐν ἐκ πίστεως, being justified by faith, Rom. v. 1.* Indeed the use of the Word in this Signification seems to be peculiar to the Hellenistical Greeks, for the Classical Authors generally use it, to denote *Condemnation or Punishment.* For Suidas explains, *δικαίωσις* by *τοῦ καλῶς ἐν τῷ Πονηρῷ* to Punish. And Hesychius explains the same by *μαστιγῶν*, to scourge, and *ὀρθοῦν* to correct. But the Hellenists take the Signification of the Word from the import of the Hebrew Verb *Zadak*: which the Septuagint translate by *δικαίω*, *Gen. xxxviii. 26. Exod. xxiii. 7. Psal. li. 5.* in which and many more Places the Word signifies to *acquit or absolve*, or to deem one *righteous or innocent.* The Jews seem to have taken the Original use of the Word, from the Notion they had of their *Zadik*, or righteous Man: for their *Zadikim*, or righteous Persons, were those, who were in favour with God for their strict Performance of the Law; and were contradistinguished

to the *Reshangim*, who were out of God's favour, for their neglect and transgression of his Laws. And thus we see them frequently opposed to one another, throughout the whole Book of the *Psalms* and *Proverbs*. As the Jewish Church began to be corrupted by Pharisaical Traditions, and the greatest stress was laid upon the nice Performance of the Ceremonial Parts of the Law, they divided their *Zadikim*, or righteous Persons, into two ranks. One were the *barely righteous*, such as performed only the common or Moral Parts of Religion; but, besides these, were the *Zadikim gemorim*, or the perfectly just, otherwise called *anshi mengasbi*, Men of Works, i. e. such as were nice in observing every Punctilio of the Jewish Law. Of such an one the *Talmud* relates, that he never committed a trespass all the days of his Life, but only once he put on the *Philacteries* for his Forehead, before the *Philacteries* for his Arms, vid. Lightfoot. Talm. Exerc. in xv. Luke. And 'tis probable, that the rich young Man, who told our Saviour, *All these things have I kept from my youth up, what want I yet?* Mat. xix. 20. was one who aspired to this Perfection. And so likewise that Lawyer, who having enumerated to our Saviour the main Points of the Moral Law; our Saviour bid him, *this do and thou shalt live*. But the Man was willing to shew that he reached after some greater Perfection than this; and therefore he enlarges his Discourse into further Questions. *But be willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, and who is my neighbour?* That is, he had a mind to appear to be a *Zadik gamor*, a perfectly righteous Man, or a Man of Works: i. e. one in the highest State of Justification, and nearest favour with God. This may be sufficient, to settle the precise Sense of the word Justification, &c. as used in Scripture, and among the Jews.

III. As to the word *Faith*, besides the general Purport thereof, to denote the believing in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in many Places of Scripture, particularly in St. Paul's Epistles, it is used to signify the Gospel itself, or the whole Oeconomy of the Christian Religion. Thus Acts vi. 7. *A great number of the Priests, ὑποκροῦν τῇ πίστει, were obedient to the FAITH, i. e. professed Christianity*. So Acts xiii. 8. *Elymas the Sorcerer sought, διατρέλαι τ' ἀνδράγατον καὶ τ' πίστιν, so turn away the Deputy from the FAITH, i. e. to make him renounce Christianity*. And so likewise, in those many Places of St. Paul's Epistles, where mention is made of the νόμος πίστεως, the Law of FAITH, Rom. iii. 27. δικαιοσύνη πίστεως, the righteousness of FAITH, Rom. iv. 13. ix. 30. x. 6. And so likewise in all those Places, where mention is made of Justification by Faith, the word Faith signifies the Christian Religion, in Opposition to the Jewish; as is plain by the several Contexts; where the Jewish Religion is signified by the words *Circumcision, Law, Works, &c.* in Contradistinction to Christianity, which the Apostle calls *Faith*. But now the righteousness of God without the Law is manifested, &c. which is by the FAITH of Jesus Christ, Rom. iii. 21, 22. *Where is boasting then? it is excluded. By what Law? of Works? nay but by the Law of FAITH, v. 27. Therefore we conclude that a Man is justified by FAITH, without the deeds of the Law, v. 28. Do we then make void the Law through FAITH? God forbid: yea we establish the Law, v. 31. So Gal. iii. 2. the ἔργα τοῦ νόμου, the Works of the Law, and the ἀκοὴ πίστεως, the hearing of Faith, are contradistinguished; the one denoting Judaism, the other Christianity. Received ye the Spirit by the Works of the Law, or by the hearing of FAITH? Again, The Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the Heathen thro' FAITH, Gal. iii. 8. But before FAITH came, we were kept under the Law, shut up unto the Faith, v. 23.*

IV. By the word *Works*, when this Question of Justification is debated, is understood the Mosaic Law, or the whole Oeconomy of the Jewish Dispensation, in Opposition to the new Dispensation of Christianity. *Where is boasting then? it is excluded. By what Law? of WORKS? i. e. the Jewish Dispensation. Nay but by the Law of FAITH, i. e. the Christian Dispensation. Rom. iii. 27. Therefore we conclude, that a Man is justified by FAITH, i. e. the Christian Religion, καὶ οὐκ ἔργων νόμου, without the DEEDS or Works of the Law, v. 28. If the Election or Call to the Gospel be of Grace, it is no more of WORKS, Rom. xi. 6. Knowing that a man is not justified by the WORKS of the Law, i. e. the Jewish Dispensation, but by the FAITH of Jesus Christ, i. e. the Gospel Dispensation, Gal. ii. 16. Received ye the Spirit by the WORKS*

of the Law, or by the hearing of FAITH? Gal. iii. 2.

V. The first great Question which was raised among the Christians, and was for some time very earnestly debated on both sides, was concerning Justification by Faith; i. e. whether or no a Man might be in Favour with God, and be entitled to his Promises, only by performing the Duties which FAITH or Christianity enjoins, without those WORKS, or operative Performances, which the Jewish Religion obliges to. The Apostle S. Paul, in the several Passages before mentioned, declares his Opinion, in favour of Christianity; as likewise in several other Places of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. So that all his Expressions concerning Justification by Faith, are to be understood, that Men may be saved only by performing Christian Precepts, exclusive of the Judaical Law, i. e. such part thereof as was not taken into Christianity. This Question the Apostle debated with great force of Argument, and by several demonstrative Reasons, drawn from the Excellence of the Gospel above the Law, Rom. iii. from the Temporal Continuance of the Law, Rom. vii. Gal. iv. from the Extent of Christian Liberty, &c. Gal. v. shews that Men were justified by Faith without Works, i. e. by Christianity, without any mixture of Judaism. And afterwards the matter was fully determined, by the Council of the Apostles, at Jerusalem, Acts xv.

VI. By the time that S. James wrote his Epistle, another Question was raised, concerning Justification by Faith; which, though alike in Terms, was very different in Substance. For S. Paul having expressed the Terms of the Question in a Metaphorical manner, using FAITH to signify Christianity, and WORKS to signify the Law of Moses, some ill-principled Christians of that time perverted his Meaning; and explained his Words so, that, when he said in the Affirmative Men were justified by Faith, as if he meant by Faith, a bare act of Credence; and when he said in the Negative, that Men were not justified by Works, they would have his Meaning to be, that, under the Christian Dispensation, there was no need of performing any outward Acts of Piety; they taking WORKS, in his Language, to denote the Moral Law, and not the Ceremonial, or the whole bulk of the Jewish Oeconomy. And this S. Peter seems to refer to, when he speaks of the διακονία τῆς πίστεως, in S. Paul's Epistles. In which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also other Scriptures, to their own destruction, 2 Pet. iii. 16. This was to introduce into Christianity a Solifidian Doctrine, contrary to the tenor of the Gospel, and to the great scandal of our common Religion. To set this matter right, S. James labours the Point with very earnest and prudent Application: declaring that Abraham was justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his Son upon the Altar, Jam. ii. 21. that faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect, v. 22. that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only, v. 24. So that by the wise Determination of this Apostle, this second Question was likewise settled, and the Christian Doctrine declared to be, That a good Life, as well as a firm Belief, was absolutely necessary to Salvation, or Justification.

VII. The Christians, of the three or four first Centuries, acquiesced in this settling of the Question, and added little more thereunto, but only upon occasion to press the Dignity of Faith, and to quell Mens Pride, when they saw them lay too much stress upon outward Actions, though good and honourable, and to value themselves too much upon them. For, before the Popish Doctrine of Merits began, Men were in all Ages apt to value themselves too highly upon their good Actions, and not have the justest regard to God's Grace, which quickened their good Resolutions, and ripened them into Action. For thus S. Basil upon this Point. *Αὐτὴ ἡ τελεία καὶ ἀλόκληρος καύχησις ἐστὶν θεῷ, ὅτε μὴτε ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνην τις ἐπαίρεται τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔγνω ὅτι ἐνδεὴς ὄντα ἑαυτὸν δικαιοσύνης ἀληθείας, πίσει δὴ μόνῃ τῇ ἐκ χειρὸς δωδικομένην. That is the perfect and compleat boasting in God, when a Man is not elated on account of his own Righteousness, but acknowledges that he is destitute of all true Righteousness; and is justified only by his faith in Christ. Basil. Hom. xxii. The like is taught by Macarius, Ἀἱ πίσεις ψυχὰς μόνω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐλπίζουσιν, πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην αὐτὰ σπένδουσιν. ὥσπερ καὶ Χρὶς τὸ ἀμπελὸν τὸ κλήμα φύγεται ἕτως καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ Χρὶς δικαιοσύνης. So*

The Controversie, when S. Paul wrote, concerning Justification.

The Controversie, when S. James wrote his Epistle, concerning Justification.

What the Fathers of the first four Centuries wrote concerning Justification.

Jesus Christ, in that Sense as it is declared in the Homily of Justification, is a most certain and wholesome Doctrine for Christian Men.

before God, only^b for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works, or deserving. Wherefore, that we are

servatoris nostris Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera, & merita nostra, iusti coram Deo reputamur. Quare sola fide nos justificari do-

δοξαι θέλω. Faithful Souls do always hope in Christ, ascribing all righteousness unto him. For as the Branch withers without the Vine, so does he, that is willing to be justified, without Christ. Mac. Hom. xlii. To the like purport speaks S. Chrysostom. Κακῶν (i. e. those who are liberal to the Poor) ἐσθλύνονται καὶ χάριν. καὶ ἂν γὰρ μυρία ἔσσι πεπαισμένοι, χάριτις ἔστιν ἡ φιλοτιμία, πρὸς ἧς μικρὰ ἔσσι καὶ εὐτελεῶν ἔργων τούτων καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ τιμὴν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι τιμὴν. These are crowned by Grace, for tho' they perform myriads of such like Actions, all the glory of their Reward proceeds from Grace, that for such little things such a glorious Heaven and a Kingdom, and so great Honour should be given. Chrys. Hom. lxxix. in Mat.

How the Question was managed, after the Pelagian Controversie.

VIII. After the Pelagian Controversie was set on foot, the Question about Justification began to be ventilated afresh, and the State of it to be something altered. For as the Predestinarian Controversies had then started up, so the Question concerning Justification was brought in, as an Appendage of them. For then the words of S. Paul, *Whom he did foreknow them he did predestinate, &c. whom he called them he also justified, &c.* were improved into a sort of Systematical Scale of the divine Decrees, of which Justification was esteemed to be a considerable Step: So that whereas the more antient Writers of the Church had only a general Notion of Justification, as Mens being in such a State of favour with God, as would entitle them to Heaven, when God should think fit to call them out of this World; it was then made to be a solemn Declaration or Pronunciation of the Divine Purpose, that such a Person was acquitted of all Guilt, and thereby entitled to the everlasting Rewards, which were from all Eternity decreed him. And in this Sense S. Austin, and others after him, frequently use it. For in his Comment on those words of the Psalmist, *For thou O Lord wilt bless the righteous, &c. Psal. v. 12.* he speaks thus. *Hæc est Benedictio gloriari in deo, & inhabitari a Deo. Ista Sanctificatio conceditur iustis, sed ut justificetur, præcedit vocatio: quæ non est meritorium seu gratia Dei. This is his blessing to glory in God, and to be inhabited by God. This Sanctification is granted to the Just. But Calling comes before Justification, which is not from Merit, but from the Grace of God. Aug. Ennar. in Psal. v. And elsewhere, Nisi vocando præcedat misericordia Dei, nec credere quisquam potest, ut ex hoc incipiat justificari, & accipiat facultatem bene operandi. Unless the Mercy of God begins by Calling, no one can believe, so that from hence he begins to be justified, and receives a power of doing good Works. Aug. Lib. 1. ad Simpl. qu. 2.*

What was added therein by the School Divines.

IX. The School Divines, who built, for the main, upon S. Austin's Doctrine, added several more curious Speculations, to this Question. They taught, That, in carrying on the Work of Justification, it was necessary there should be an infused habit of Grace or Righteousness; *Aqu. 1. 2. Q. 113. Art. 7.* That there should be a Motion of Free-will, antecedent to Justification, *Id. 1. 2. Q. 133. Art. 3.* That Justification is performed, not by any Dispositions or successive Acts, but in an Instant. *Id. 1. 2. Q. 113. Art. 7.* That the Justification of a wicked Person is greater than Creation, or any other Act of the divine Power. *Id. 1. 2. Q. 113. Art. 9.* That the Sacraments of the Church are the instrumental cause of Justification. *Id. 3. Q. 64.* others added the Merit of Good Works, not only *ex congruo*, but *ex condigno*, of which more hereafter.

The Renewing of the Question, at the time of the Reformation.

X. When the Reformation came on, those who undertook to animadvert upon the intolerable Abuses of the Romish Church, brought on the Dispute of Justification afresh. They observed, How scandalously the Doctrine of Merits and Good Works was cried up by the

Divines of that Church, and how much the Grace of God was undervalued in respect thereof; That the Good Works, which they pretended to ground Justification upon, were chiefly, going of Pilgrimages, offering at Shrines, and giving Money for Masses to deliver Souls out of Purgatory, &c. and therefore they took Advantage of the Scriptural Expressions of being justified by Faith only, to give a check to these external Works, which were less commendable than any of the Jewish Ceremonies, which the Apostles had formerly opposed. Some things, perhaps, might be said with too great a Warmth, in the Ventilation of this Controversie, on the Protestant side; but as these matters have been since more cautiously expressed, so the vigorousness of the Attack has made the Papists, in some Measure, to mend their Divinity, and to ascribe less to Good Works, and more to Grace, than formerly they did.

b Only for the Merit of our Lord, &c. and not for our own Works or Deservings.]

I. Our Church here, in Opposition to the Church of Rome, asserts, that we are justified only by the Merits of Christ, and not by our own Works. For they assert, that Mens inherent Righteousness is the meritorious cause of their Justification; that these Works are truly meritorious, or as the Council of Trent expresses it, they do *ad vitam æternam consequendam vere promereri: are truly meritorious in obtaining eternal Life.* Conc. Trid. de Bon. Oper. Cap. 11. As this Doctrine of the Merits of Good Works is one of the most arrogant, and scandalous, of the Corruptions in the Romish Church, so it is one of the most Modern; occasioned partly by the Corruption of the Latin Tongue and the Ignorance of the School Divines, they not understanding the true Import of the Latin word *Meritum*; which signifies properly the Duty or Service which any one is to do. *Mereri* is to do Duty or Service, as for Instance, that of a Soldier under his Captain; and *Merces*, qu. *Merces*, is the Pay or Reward which is given for that Duty or Service. Now, whereas Christianity is a sort of Spiritual Warfare, and the several Branches thereof do bear some Analogy to the antient Milice, some of the Military Terms were used by the Fathers in speaking of Religion; as particularly *Sacramentum*, *Symbolum*, &c. And so in like manner *Mereri* and *Meritum* were used, to denote the Service which a Christian was obliged to perform, in his Spiritual Exercise. But when this was first used, it had no relation to the modern Sense of the word, in which *Mereri* signifies to deserve. But the word being commonly used in that Sense when the Schoolmen wrote, they adapted their Divinity to this Notion, and by what the Antients understood Duty, they understood Merit or Desert. It was some time before this Doctrine was hammered out, their Divines holding different Opinions concerning it. Some held that Good Works were *ex condigno*, meritorious of eternal Life, in their own Nature, though God had made no Stipulation with Men concerning it; which is the Opinion of Cajetan. Others, that they are Meritorious only, with regard to the divine Compact by which they are promised, which is the Opinion of Scotus. Others, that they are *ex condigno*, meritorious, *ratione pacti & geris simul*; both upon account of the Stipulation and the Dignity of the Work it self likewise. This last Opinion Bellarmine will have, to be the Doctrine of the Council of Trent.

II. But let whatever Sanction be given to this Doctrine by that Conventi-

on, it is contrary to the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, which declare, that we are so far from meriting of God, that when we have done all those things which are commanded us, we are so say we are unprofitable Servants, Luke xvii. 12. We are there-

The Popish Doctrine of Merits very modern, and grounded upon the Signification of the word Meritum, in the Declension of the Latin Tongue.

Popish Doctrine of Merits contrary to Scripture.

justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of Comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

Elrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima, ut in homilia, de justificatione hominis, fusius explicatur.

in MSS, to stare the Church of Rome in the face, and to demonstrate to them the Novelty of their Doctrine of Merits, even among themselves.

c Is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of Comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification. The Homily of Justification here meant is not expressly so called, in our Book of Homilies, but is intituled there, A Sermon of the SALVATION of Man-

kind, by only Jesus Christ our Saviour, from Sin and Death everlasting, and divided into three Parts. It is called here the Homily of Justification, because the chief Points of that Doctrine are treated of therein. Now it must be observed, that the Moderation of our Church is very remarkable; that, whereas the World was blown up into so much Flame among the contending Parties, concerning the Speculative Points which were raised about this Doctrine, at the time of the Composing the Articles and Homilies of our Church, neither in the Article it self, nor in the Homily to which the Article refers, any of those nice Matters are insisted on; but only the plain Christian Doctrine in general is set down, and little more of Controversie touched upon than what the gross Errors of the Roman Church, concerning Merits, made absolutely necessary. Here are no Disputes whether Justification be made in Time, or from all Eternity? Whether it be an Indivisible Act, or be performed all together? Whether there be one Justification of all the Righteous, or whether every good Person have a particular Justification? Whether it be necessary to Salvation, that every Man be certain of his Justification? Whether God justifies Men being Holy, or sanctifies them being justified? &c. Disputes which, for a Century and an half, have perplexed the Churches abroad, and the Minds of some among our selves who have been pleased officiously to take them up, here at home; to very little Edification and much Contention. Since therefore the Article points out to the Homily for a further Explication of the Doctrine of Justification, as maintained by our Church, it will be requisite to give a short account of the main Points contained in that Homily.

The Homily teaches that Good Works are not the meritorious cause of Justification. Now, I. The Homily, in opposition to the Errors of the Church of Rome, teaches, That Good Works are not the meritorious Cause of our Justification. First, Because all Men be Sinners and Offenders against God, and breakers of his Laws and Commandments, therefore can no Man by his own Acts, Works and Deeds (seem they never so good)

be justified and made righteous before God: but every Man of necessity is constrained to seek for another righteousness or justification, to be received at Gods own Hands. Hom. of Salv. P. 1. Secondly, Because all our good Works are imperfect, and none of them good enough to justify us before God. For our own imperfection is so great, through the corruption of Original Sin, that all is imperfect that is within us, Faith, Charity, Hope, Dread, Thoughts, Words and Works, and therefore not apt to merit and deserve any part of our Justification for us. Hom. of Salv. P. 3. And again, Although we fear Gods Word and believe it, although we have Faith, Hope, Charity, Repentance, Dread, and the fear of God within us, and do never so many good Works thereunto; yet we must renounce the Merit of all our said Vertues, of Faith, Hope, Charity, and all other Vertues and good Deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak and insufficient, and imperfect to deserve Remission of our Sins, and our Justification, and there-

fore we must only trust in Gods Mercy, and that Sacrifice, which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the Cross, to obtain thereby Gods Grace and Remission, as well of our Original Sin in Baptism, as of all Actual Sin committed by us after our Baptism, if we truly Repent, and unfeignedly turn unto him again. Hom. of Salv. P. 2.

II. The Homily teaches; That tho' these Works are necessary to be done, We may not do them to this intent, to be made good by the doing of them. For all the good Works we can do be imperfect, and therefore not able to deserve Justification: but our Justification doth come freely, by the mere Mercy of God, and of so great and free Mercy, that whereas all the World was not able of their selves to pay any part towards their Ransome, it pleased our Heavenly Father, of his infinite Mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christs Body and Blood, whereby our Ransome might be fully payd, and his Justice fully satisfied. Hom. of Salv. P. 1.

III. The Homily teaches, That Christ is the only meritorious Cause of our Justification. This Justification or Righteousness, which we so receive of Gods Mercy, and Christs Merits, embraced by Faith, is taken, accepted and allowed of God, for our perfect and full Justification. For it is our Parts and Dutys ever to remember the great Mercy of God, how that (all the World being wrapped in Sin by breaking of the Law) God sent his only Son our Saviour Christ into the World, to fulfill the Law for us, and by shedding of his most precious Blood, to make a Sacrifice and Satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends to his Father for our Sins, to assuage his Wrath and Indignation conceived against us for the same. Hom. of Salv. P. 1. And this both by his Active as well as Passive Obedience. So that Christ is now the Righteousness of all them that truly do believe in him. He for them payd their Ransom by his Death. He for them fulfilled the Law in his Life. So that now in him, and by him, every true Christian Man may be a fulfiller of the Law, inasmuch as that which their infirmity lacked, Christs justice hath supplied. *ibid.*

IV. The Homily teaches, That Faith is the instrumental Cause of our Justification. Because Faith doth directly send us to Christ for the Remission of our Sins, and that by Faith given us of God, we embrace the promise of Gods mercy, and of the Remission of our Sins (which thing none other of our Vertues properly doth) therefore the Scripture useth to say, that Faith without Works doth justify. Hom. of Salv. P. 3.

V. The Homily shews the Comfortableness (as the Article particularly Remarks) of this Doctrine, in setting forth, that thereby is plainly expressed the weakness of Man, and the goodness of God, the great infirmity of ourselves, and the might and power of God, the imperfectness of our own Works, and the most abundant Grace of our Saviour Christ, and therefore wholly to ascribe the Merit and Deserving of our Justification unto Christ only, and his most precious Bloodshedding. This faith the Holy Scripture teaches us, this is the strong Rock and Foundation of Christian Religion, this Doctrine all old and ancient Authors of Christs Church do approve, this Doctrine adavance and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beaterth down the vain glory of Man, this whosoever dengeth is not to be accounted for a Christian Man, nor for a setter forth of Christs glory, but for an Adversary to Christ and his Gospel, and for a setter forth of Mans vain glory.

That however there is a necessity of performing them.

That Christ is the only meritorious cause of Justification.

That Faith is the instrumental cause of Justification.

That this is a Comfortable Doctrine.

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

XII. De bonis operibus.

Albeit that good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgment.

Bona opera quæ sunt fructus Fidei, & justificatos sequuntur, quamquam peccata nostra expiare & divini judicii severitatem ferre non

The difference between the Papists and Protestants, concerning the Perfection of good Works.

a Cannot endure the Severity of God's Judgment.] I. The Popish Doctrine of Merits was so highly reflecting upon the Honour of God, and offensive to all Christian Ears, that had a Zeal for the true Worship and Dignity of their Creator, that the first Reformers set themselves with particular Earnestness to oppose it. Whilst the Popish Divines on the one side cried up the Sufficiency of Good Works, asserting that they were truly Just without Culpability or Blame, and that Men might not only do their Duty as they ought, but that they might do more than they were obliged to; the Protestant Divines denied all this; and Luther in his warm way of Expression said, bona opera totidem esse venialia peccata; that all good Works were only so many Sins, which we were beholden to God's Mercy for the Pardon of. And, æque nobis impossibilia sunt omnia præcepta atque illud unum non concupiscas. All the Commandments are equally impossible, as that Thou shalt not covet. Luth. de Lib. Christ. Calvin expresses himself in as high Terms. Nec unum a sanctis exit opus quod non mercatur justis opprobrii mercedem. No one Action is committed by Good Men, which they are not to be reproached for. Inst. Lib. iii. c. 14. Non sunt tantopere exagilandis qui dixerunt qualibet bona opera, si exacto rigore censeantur, æterna potius damnatione, quam vitæ præmio digna esse. They are not so much to be blamed, who have asserted, that good Works if they be scanned with exact rigor, do rather deserve eternal Damnation, than the reward of eternal Life. Calv. in Antid. Conc. But the Protestants, in their Publick and Authentick Papers, bated much of the Heat and Ruggedness of these Expressions. For in the Wirtemberg Confession of Faith, which was delivered into the Council of Trent, 24 Jan. MDLII. some little time before our Articles were set forth, the very words of our Article are used. Omnia enim bona opera, quæ nos facimus, sunt imperfecta, nec possunt severitatem divini judicii ferre. All the good Actions which we do are imperfect, and cannot bear the Severity of God's Judgment. Against this Doctrine of the Protestants, the Tridentine Fathers thunder out their Anathema. Siquis in qualibet opere justum saltem venialiter peccare dixerit, aut quod intolerabilis est, mortaliter, atque ideo penas æternas mereri, tantumque ob id non damnari, quia Deus ea opera non implet ad damnationem, Anathema sit. If any one shall say, that a righteous Person in every good Work, does at least Sin venially, or, what is more intolerable, mortally, and for this Reason does deserve eternal Punishment, and is not damned, only because God does not impute it to Damnation, let him be Anathema. Conc. Trid. Sess. vi. cap. 25.

It is none of my Business to vindicate the several harsh Expressions enumerated in this Canon, our Church having nothing to do therewith, nor being answerable for them; but only to shew that this moderate Expression, that good Works cannot endure the Severity of God's Judgment, is a most true and Christian Assertion, for which the Holy Scriptures, and the Writers of the purest Ages of Antiquity, will vouch.

II. The Holy Scriptures, in this Particular, are incontestibly on the Protestant side; for we find nothing there, but what tends to quell human Pride, and to bear down any pretended Abilities of Nature. We are there told, That there is not a just man upon earth that doth good, and sinneth not; Eccl. vii. 20. That all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags, Is. lxiiv. 6. That a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit, Mat. vii. 18. That the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would, Gal. v. 17. And lastly, That this Imperfection of our Natures is acknowledged by the most pious Men, whose Characters are recorded in holy Writ. For thus holy Job professes. How should a man be just with God? Job ix. 2. What is man that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman that he should be righteous? behold he putteth no trust in his Saints, and the Heavens are not clean in his sight, Job xv. 15. So holy David, If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, who should stand? Psal. cxxx. 3. And again, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified, Psal. cxliii. 2. So likewise Daniel, O Lord righteousness belongeth unto thee, but to us confusion of faces, Dan. ix. 7. And again, We do not present our supplications before thee, for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies, v. 18. S. Paul affirms of himself, that he had not already attained or was already perfect, Phil. iii. 12. S. James declares, That in many things we offend all, Jam. iii. 2. And S. John, If we say that we have no sin, we deceive our selves and the truth is not in us, 1 Joh. i. 8.

The Imperfection of good Works proved from Scripture.

III. And, if we look into the Writers of the antient Church, we shall find their Doctrine to be the same. S. CHRYSOSTOM commenting on 1 Cor. i. 1. By the will of God, &c. says, Διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ. O ὃ Θεὸς ὅσοις ἡβήλοισι τὸ ἄνω ἡμᾶς σωθῆναι ἐπέβη, ὃ ἡμᾶς καὶ σωθῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ θελήματος Θεοῦ. By the Will of God.] For God willed that you should thus be saved. For we do nothing right; but by the will of God we find our Salvation.

The Imperfection of good Works proved from the Writings of the antient Fathers.

S. CTRIL writes, Αὐτὸ ἡμῶν τὸ ἐρῶς ἐργάζεσθαι, μομφῆς καὶ αἰτίας ἀμοιρῆσαι ἂν ἔτι τι πενήταζομεν τε καὶ βασιλεύοντες Θεοῦ. That which seems to be done well by us, cannot escape Reprehension and Blame, if it be narrowly searched into by God. Cyr. de Ador. Lib. iv. N. B. these are almost the very words of our Article. And not long after, Καθαροὶ ὡς εἰς τὸ ῥύπον, καὶ εἰ σόδοις τίς ἐστιν ὁ εὐδοκίμων ἐκδοτὸν τῆς τέλει καὶ τὸ τελὲς ἀγίων εἰς αἰῶνα ἔμμελλοντα. There is no one pure from defilement, although he be of the number of them, who are esteemed the most excellent Persons: for perfect holiness is reserved for the other World, ibid.

THEOPHY.

ment, yet^b are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, in-
 somuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the Fruit.

possunt; Deo tamen grata sunt, & accepta in Christo, atque ex vera & viva fide, necessario prosunt, ut planè ex illis, æquè fides viva cognosci possit, atque arbor ex fructu judicari.

THEOPHYLACT, ad Eph. ii. 5. writes thus. *Χάριτι ἐστὶ σωσμένοι οὐ καμάντων καὶ ἑργοῖς ἰδίαις ἐσώθητε, ἀλλὰ χάριτι μόνῃ ὅσον ὅτι ἔργων, καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔζητε.* By Grace ye are saved] not saved by your own Labours and Virtues, but by Grace only: for, as for Works, they are worthy of God's Punishment and Anger. Which Expression, by the way, seems to run as high, as any of those of Luther and Calvin.

S. AUSTIN, Ep. xxix. ad Hier. writes, *Virtus est charitas, qua id quod diligendum est, diligitur: hæc aliis major, in aliis minor, in aliis nulla est: plenissima vero, quæ jam non possit augeri, quamdiu hic homo vivit, est in nemine: quamdiu autem augeri potest, profecto illud quod minus est, quam debet, ex vitio est.* Virtue is a Charity, by which that is loved which ought to be loved: this is greater in some, lesser in others, in some none at all: but the fullest which admits of no increase, as long as this World lasts, is in no Man. Now as long as it can be increased, and is less than it ought to be, it is blameable.

S. GREGORY, Moral. ix. cap. 2. says, *Sanctus vir, quia omne virtutis nostræ meritum esse vitium conspicit, si ab interno arbitrio districtè judicetur, rectè subjungit, si voluerit contendere cum eo, non poterit respondere ei unum pro mille.* The holy Man, because he sees that all the merit of our Virtue is Vice, if he be strictly judged by his inward Will, doth rightly add, if he will contend with him he cannot answer him one of a thousand. And again, *ibid. cap. 11. Quietum si habuero quippiam justum non respondebo, sed meum judicem deprecabor. Ut enim sæpe diximus, omnis humana justitia injustitia esse convincitur, si districtè judicetur.* Peace ergo post justitiam indiget, ut quæ succumbere discussa poterat, ex sola judicis potestate coalescat. If I have any thing that is just I will not answer, [i.e. plead it,] but I will ask my judge pardon for it. For, as we have often said, all human justice is convicted of injustice, if it be strictly judged. Therefore after justice it stands in need of Prayer, that that, which might be cast in being judged, might come off by the mercy of the judge. Now since this Protestant Doctrine was taught by this antient Bishop of Rome, methinks the Council of Trent should have been more cautious, in the heat of their Fulminations, how they had anathematized the Ashes and Writings of one of their greatest and most famous Popes.

^b Yet they are pleasing and acceptable unto God.] I. It was a frequent Calumny raised by the Papists against the Protestants from the beginning of the Reformation, that the whole of their Religion consisted in Faith, and that they did reject good Works as unnecessary things. Nay, this Calumny, false and scandalous as it is, is not only objected to the Protestants by the private Writers of the Roman Church, but even by the Council of Trent it self; tho' at the same time they had the several Protestant Confessions, which had been delivered in to them, lying before them. For this Imputation is plainly enough objected in the xxth Can. *Siquis hominem justificatum & quantumlibet perfectum dixeris non teneri ad observantiam mandatorum Dei & Ecclesiæ, sed tantum ad credendum, quasi vero Evangelium sit nuda & absoluta professio vitæ æternæ sine conditione Observationis mandatorum, Anathema sit.* If any one shall say, that a Man justified and every way perfect, is not obliged to observe the Commandments of God and the Church, but only to believe, as if the Gospel were only a naked and absolute promise of eternal Life, without the Condition of observing God's Commandments, let him be Anathema.

II. Therefore the Protestants in all their Apologies and Confessions do strenuously disavow this Principle, which the Papists had so unjustly fasten'd upon them, and take all occasion to assert the Necessity of good Works. Thus the *Augustian Confession*. *Admiratur & doctrina de bonis operibus: quod viz. necessaria sit in reconciliatis obedientia erga legem Dei.* We add moreover the doctrine of good Works: because an obedience to the Law of God is necessary in all regenerate Persons. Aug. Conf. cap. de bon. op. So in that of *Wirttemberg*. *Docemus bona opera divinitus præcepta necessario facienda esse.* Good Works commanded by God are absolutely Necessary. Conf. *Wirttemberg*. cap. de bon. op. So in that of *Saxony*, which comes nigher to our Articles. *Obedientiam & bonam conscientiam, quamquam abest a perfectione legis, tamen in reconciliatis placere Deo.* Obedience and a good Conscience, altho' they come far short of the Perfection of the Law, yet in regenerate Persons they are pleasing to God. Conf. *Sax.* cap. 9.

III. For this is a Doctrine which is every where inculcated in the holy Scriptures, as the main design of Religion, and without which Christianity would only be an empty speculative Science. For the Exhortations and Commands for the Performance of good Works are as express in Scripture as Words can make them. God hath not called us to Uncleanness, but to Sanctification, 1 Thes. iv. 7. What then, shall we sin because we are not under the Law, but under Grace? God forbid, Rom. vi. 15. Teaching us that denying all ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world, Tit. ii. 12. And again, *Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works,* Tit. ii. 14. They elsewhere inform us, that no Faith is true or genuine, unless it draw after it good Works as a Consequent of it. For *Faith worketh by Love,* Gal. v. 6. And this is the Love of God that we keep his Commandments, 1 Joh. v. 2. And *S. James* informs us, that Faith if it have not works is dead being alone, Jam. ii. 17. Besides, God denounces the severest Punishment, against those who neglect or violate his Commands. God is the avenger of all such, 1 Thes. iv. 6. If ye live after the flesh ye shall die, Rom. viii. 13. For which things sake the wrath of God cometh upon the Children of disobedience, Col. iii. 6. For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor uncleanness person, nor covetous man, who is an Idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ, or of God, Eph. v. 5.

IV. The Writers of the antient Church do exactly agree with the holy Scriptures in this Doctrine. For though they set the highest value upon God's Grace, and a sincere Faith, as to the Point of Justification; yet they always require the Concomitancy or Presence of good Works.

IGNATIUS makes the Conjunction of Faith and Works to be the Perfection of a Christian, and uses the very same Similitude which our Articles do, of the Fruit and the Tree, making good Works to be the natural Fruit or Produce of a true Faith. For thus speaks that most antient Father. *Ἀρχὴ ζωῆς πίστις: τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη, τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἐνότητι γινόμενα.* The beginning of life is Faith: the perfection Love: but these

The Protestants industriously vindicate themselves from this Calumny in their several Confessions.

The necessity of good Works, the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures.

The Doctrine of the antient Fathers.

ARTICLE XIII.

XIII. Works before Justification.

Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in Jesu Christ, neither do

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in Jesu

XIII. De operibus ante Justificationem.

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, & spiritus ejus afflatus, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non procedant, minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam (ut multi

these two, when they are joyned together perfect the man of God. Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. And a little after thus. Οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι χρεῖς εἶναι, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς, γινώσκονται. Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρτῆς τὸ δυνάμεν γινώσκειται. Ἀμείνων δὲ σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἢ λαλῆναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι. They who profess themselves Christians, are known, not by what they say, but by what they do. For the Tree is known by its Fruit. It is better to say nothing and to be, than to talk and not to be. Ibid.

CLEMENT of Alexandria says, that true Faith is necessarily productive of good Works; and that Men ought to use their utmost Diligence in performing them. Ἡ πίστις, εἰ καὶ ἐκείνη ἐστὶ ψυχῆς, συγκρατᾶται, ἀλλ' ἐργάτις ἀγαθῶν, καὶ δικαιοπραγίας δεμένη. Faith, although it be a voluntary assent of the Mind, is yet a Worker of good Actions, and the Foundation of righteous doing. Clem. Strom. Lib. v. And elsewhere, χάρει σωζόμεθα, καὶ ἀνευ μὲν τοῦ ἔργου καλῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ δὲ μὲν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, σπερδὴν τινα περὶ τοῦ ἔργου. Δὲ δὲ καὶ ἡ γνῶμιν ὑγίαν κατέχει, καὶ ἀμετακίνητον περὶ τῆς θύρας τῆς καλῆς. By Grace we are saved, but not without good Works: but we ought to be rightly disposed to Good, and employ all our Diligence in performing it. For we ought to have a sound Mind, and to be constant and unalterable in our Pursuit after Virtue. Ibid.

GREGORY Nazianzen, Orat. xxviii. requires the Presence of good Works with Faith. Ὡς καὶ ἐστὶ χρεὶς πίστεως περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας. ἐπειδὴν καὶ δοξῆς ἐνεκεν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐπισηδεύουσιν, καὶ οὐσίας ἄνω ἔχοντες. ἔτι καὶ πίστις χρεὶς ἔργων νεχέται. As well-doing, if it be destitute of Faith, deserves no Praise, (for some Men embrace Virtue, out of a love of Honour or from natural Disposition) so Faith without Works is dead.

ISIDORE Pelusiot says, in favour of good Works, τὴν πίστιν τὰ ἔργα. μάλλον ἢ οἱ λόγοι δρᾶν. Good Works shew forth Faith, more than Words. Ibid. Pelus. clviii.

THEODORET, Qu. 63. in Exod. writes, Ὅσον ἀρκεῖ ἡ πίστις εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ δεῖται τοῦ ἔργου εἰς τελειότητα. Faith is not sufficient for Salvation, but it wants Works to perfect it.

PHOTIUS expresses the Orthodox Doctrine very accurately upon this Head. Δὲ τὰς ἀρετὰς τῇ πίστει παρεπισηγμένα, καὶ δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸ σπερδαῖον καταρτίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δογματῶν μὲν εὐθύτης πολιτείας προβάλλεται κοσμιότητα. περὶ τῶν δὲ καθαρῶν τῆς πίστεως ἀπαγγέλλεται δεξιότητα. Ὡς ἐκείνη, χρεὶς τῆς ἐτέρας ῥᾶν εἶωθεν ὑπορρεῖν καὶ παρασύρεσθαι, μὴ ἀνεχόμενον καταμόνας ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐγκατοικίζεσθαι. It is necessary that good Works should be joyned to Faith, and that by both of them the good Man be perfected and compleated: For a sound Faith produces good Actions, and the pureness of the Actions do shew that the Faith is Divine. Now these two are often separated and torn from each other, but they cannot subsist separately in Mens Minds. Phot. Ep. i.

S. AMBROSE, for the Writer of the Comment on the Epistle to the Hebrews, among his Works, on the ivth Chapter writes thus. Festinemus ingredi in illam requiem; festinemus, inquit, quia non sufficit fides, sed debet addi & vita fidei condigna. Opus est quippe omni volenti celum possidere, fidem operibus bonis ornare. Let us make haste to enter into that rest. I say, let us make haste, because Faith alone is not sufficient, but there ought to be added a suitable Life. For it is necessary for every one who would possess himself of Heaven, to adorn Faith with good Works.

S. JEROM in his Comment on the xxvth of Isaiah, speaks thus for the necessity of good Works being joyned with Faith. Murus & ante-murale ponetur in ea: Murus (inquit) bonorum operum, & ante-murale fidei. Non enim sufficit habere murum fidei, nisi ipsa fides bonis operibus confirmetur. A Wall and a Bulwark shall be placed in her. A Wall, says he, of good Works and a Bulwark of Faith. For it is not sufficient to have a Wall of Faith; unless Faith be confirmed by Works.

S. AUSTIN teaches the like Doctrine. Jam illud videamus, quod excutiendum est a cordibus religiosis, ne mala securitate, salutem suam perdant, si ad eam obtinendam, sufficere solam fidem putaverint. Let us therefore look out for that, which is to be shaken off from all pious Hearts, that they do not miss of their Salvation by an evil Security, if they think that Faith alone is sufficient to obtain it. De fid. & op. cap. 18.

FULGENTIUS speaks thus in behalf of good Works, and against the Solifidian Doctrines. Vita bona non veraciter dicitur, quæ perversæ credulitatis vitio depravatur: neque sufficit ad salutem fides recte credentis, si conversatio moribus atque operibus turpatur obscenis. That is not truly called a good Life, which is polluted with the fault of a perverse Credulity: for the Faith of a right Believer is not sufficient for Salvation, if his Conversation be defiled by ill Morals and Actions. Fulg. Lib. ii. de Remiss. pecc. cap. i.

The Popish Writers, it is true, would draw these and the like Passages, with which the Writings of the Antients abound, to prove a Necessity of Efficiency, as if they were the immediate Cause of Justification, which Doctrine the Antients, (as has been shewn before) do vigorously oppose; but any one who impartially views the Places may see, that they meant only a Necessity of Presence, or that it was necessary in order to Salvation, that a good-Life should always go along with a sound Faith.

a Are not pleasant to God.] I. This Article is designed partly against an Error of the Pelagians, who contended that the good Actions of the Heathens were acceptable to God; and to another of the Papists, who in some measure have closed with them, in their fond Distinction of good Works into Merits ex congruo and ex condigno.

condigno. The Pelagians in their Disputes against the Necessity of Grace, were used frequently to instance in some of the more noble and splendid Actions of the Heathens, who tho' they were unassisted by Grace, yet no one could deny but they were very laudable in the Eyes of Men, and therefore they concluded that God Almighty likewise must look upon them with a very favourable Aspect; and if heathen Men could do such good Actions without Grace, it was in no ways necessary that Christians should be beholding to this supernatural Assistance for all the good Actions they do. But the Orthodox deny'd the Force of this Argument, and on the contrary asserted, that their good Actions were unacceptable to God, as not proceeding from Faith in Christ, and the Motives of the Christian Religion, to which only God had promised his Acceptance, and had allotted a Reward to them by the Charter of the Gospel.

Now that the Actions of such Persons cannot be acceptable or pleasant to God, is evident from the particular Reason here assigned in this Article.

Good Works before Justification do not please God, because they spring not from Faith. II. Because they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ. i. e. because the Doers of them are not instructed in the Principles of Christianity, and do not act upon those Rules which God has prescribed, how he will be worshipped, and how he will have an acceptable Service paid unto him. For

whatsoever Men do of their own Heads, without a Command of God for it, however plausible it may be in its own Nature, the Apostle calls it *εθελωρησκειαι*, a Will-worship, Col. ii. 13. and our Saviour condemns any such Practice, saying, *In vain do they worship God, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*, Mat. xv. 9. Besides, we see, how that, when Men were left to themselves to regulate and direct their religious Worship as they pleas'd, what gross and stupid Idolatry they fell into; which began in the most early Ages of the World, and overspread the whole Face of the Earth; the Nation of the Jews only excepted, to whom God himself was pleased to prescribe a Form of Worship. Now there are hardly any Actions which Men are more sincere and serious in, than the Honours and Respects which they ascribe to the Divine Nature, but yet the Heathen Nations, by paying a Worship which God had not prescribed, or directing it to an Object inferior to the great Creator of all Things, were so far from being acceptable in the Eyes of God, that they became hateful in his Sight: This provoked God to withdraw his particular Countenance and Favour from all the idolatrous Nations, and confine it only to the Jews, who worshipped him according to his Will.

Because they do not proceed from the Love and Honour of God. III. The good Actions of unjustified Persons, or Unbelievers, are not pleasing to God, because they do not proceed from the Love of God, or from any Tendency to the Advancement of his Glory or Honour, but only from some sensual or worldly Principle, which has no Relation to

Piety or Religion. There is no doubt to be made that Alexander's returning back to Darius, after he had conquer'd him, all the Court Ladies whom he took Prisoners, without any Violence offered to them, Plutarch in Alexander. and Scipio's restoring the beautiful Spanish Lady that was brought Captive to him, unto the Gentleman to whom she was espoused, Liv. Hist. Lib. xxvi. were brave and gallant Actions, and did betoken a noble and generous Mind; but yet it may be justly questioned, whether they were Actions acceptable in the Eyes of God, as proceeding from Desire of Fame, a Design of gaining an Interest and Respect from the conquered People, or some other Principle which might be quite foreign to Goodness and Piety. And the Case would have been otherwise, had these Actions taken their Rise from Christian or truly Religious Principles: Had these great Persons resolv'd to quell their Passions, and to give up their sensual Satisfaction, in Obedience to the Commands and in Regard to the Honour of their great Creator, or for the Love of their blessed Redeemer; for such religious Considerations only can render an Action acceptable in God's Sight. (1.) This is the constant Doctrine of the holy Scripture: Our Saviour commands, that Mens good Works should shine before Men (not in order to vulgar Applause) but that they may glorify our Father which is in Heaven, Mat. v. 16. The Apostle exhorts us to do all to the Glory of God, 1 Cor. x. 31. and that the Fruits of Righteousness (i. e. good Works) be by Jesus

Christ, unto the Praise and Glory of God, Phil. i. 11. S. Peter enjoyns the same, tho' with particular Relation to Works of Charity, *If any Man minister, let him do it, as of the Ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ*, 1 Pet. iv. 11. S. Paul makes the Love of God to be the great Spring and Principle of all virtuous Actions. *Love is the fulfilling of the Law*, Rom. xiii. 10. We are elsewhere taught, that Mens Hearts are only to be purified by the Christian Faith, Acts xv. 9. *Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure*, Tit. i. 15. These are the great Privileges which God Almighty in his holy Word has promised to the Members of his Church; which those that are out of the Pale of it have no Title to. (2.) The ancient Writers of the Church do maintain the same Doctrine, which the holy Scriptures had laid down before them. Indeed it must be acknowledged, that some of the Ecclesiastical Writers, who wrote before the Pelagian Controversie troubled the Church, out of some charitable Motives, were inclined to hope very well of the State of the virtuous Heathens in another World, and in order to that advanced some Principles, whereby they might the better defend their well-natured Opinion; as particularly that their squaring their Lives by the Rules of their Moral Philosophy, was acceptable to God for their Salvation, whilst they were destitute of Revelation. I think Clement of Alexandria, who was bred up in a Philosophick Sect, and upon that Account must retain some Tenderness for those who had been engaged in the like Studies, was the first who advanced this Notion. For thus he speaks, *Ἰουδαίους μὴ νόμῳ, Ἑλλήσι δὲ φιλοσοφίᾳ, μέχρι τῆς χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ κλήσις ἡ καθολικὴ εἰς περισσὴν δικαιοσύνας λαβὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως διδασκαλίαν.* The Law was a Rule to the Jews, and the Philosophy to the Gentiles, unto the coming of Christ. But then the Evangelical Calling raised a People more excellent in virtuous Acts, according to the Doctrine of Faith, Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. vii. And again, *καθάπερ Ἰουδαίους σώζωντες ἐβόλασθ' ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Προφητίας διδόντες, ὥς καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῆς δοκιμασίας δικαίους αὐτῶν τῇ διαλεκτικῇ προφήτας ἀναστήσας, ὥς διδοί τε ἵσαν δέχεσθαι τὸ θεοῦ ἐνεργεῖαν, καὶ χυδαίων ἀνθρώπων δίκην.* As God would have the Jews be saved, when he gave them Prophets, so as for the more excellent of the Heathens, by raising them up Prophets in their own Tongue, according as they were able to receive the Benefit, he distinguish'd them from the common Rank of Men, ibid. He elsewhere positively asserts, *καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἐδικαίωσθαι καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία τῶν Ἑλλήνων:* That the Heathens, for a time, were justified by Philosophy, Strom. Lib. i. The same Opinion is maintained not only by his Scholar Origen contr. Celsum Lib. ii, but also by S. Chrysostom, who speaks thus, *Τὸ εἰσωτῆριαν ἔχειν, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἑνὶ τῷ θεῷ εἰδέναι μόνον νυνὶ καὶ ἐκείνι ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ γνώσεως.* Then it was sufficient for Salvation to know God, but now that does not suffice, but the Knowledge of Christ is likewise necessary, Hom. xxviii. in Mat. And presently afterwards, *οἱ καὶ χριστὸν ἐκ ἐγνωκότες πρὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας ἐδωλοκαλείεσθαι δὲ ἀπόστολους καὶ θεῶν προσηκούνων μόνον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποδείξοντο αἰσιν, ἀπάντων ἀπολαύσαντες τῆς ἀγαθῆς.* They shall enjoy all the Happiness of eternal Life, who did not know Christ before his Incarnation: but only abstaining from Idolatry, adored the true God and lived a good Life, ibid. But others of the Fathers, who lived before, and after the Pelagian Controversie, affirmed all their Virtues to be false and counterfeit, and not to be acceptable in the Eyes of God. S. CYPRIAN, who was as unprejudiced in this Matter as any one, speaking of the Virtue of Patience, writes thus, *Hanc se fecerari Philosophi quoque profitentur, sed tam illic patientia falsa est, quam falsa sapientia est. Unde enim vel sapiens esse, vel patiens possit, qui nec sapientiam, nec potentiam Dei novit: quando ipse de iis, qui sibi sapere in mundo videntur moneat, & dicat, perdam sapientiam sapientum prudentiam prudentium reprobabo.* The Philosophers likewise profess to prosecute this Virtue, but their Patience is as false as their Wisdom. For whence can any one be wise, or patient, who neither knows the Wisdom or Power of God, who admonishes of those things of which they think to be wise in the World, I will destroy the Wisdom of the Wise, and bring to nothing the Understanding of the Prudent. Cypr. de Con. patient. S. HIEROM speaking of the Words, *The Just shall live by Faith*, writes thus: *Faciamus & nos aliquid simile huic, quod dicitur, Justus ex fide vivit, & dicamus, Castus ex fide vivit, sapiens*

they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the Scholl-Authors say) deserve grace of congruity:

Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-Authors say) deserve grace of congruity:

vocant de congruo merentur. Immo cum non sunt facta, ut Deus illa fieri vo-

piens ex fide vivit, fortis ex fide vivit: & a ceteris virtutum partibus vicinam sententiam proferamus adversum eos qui in Christum non credentes, fortes & sapientes temperantes seputant esse, vel justos, ut sciant nullum absque Christo vivere, sine quo omnis virtus in vitio est. Let us frame a Sentence like this, The Just liveth by Faith, and say the chaste Man liveth by Faith, the wise Man liveth by Faith, the courageous Man liveth by Faith, and pronounce a like Sentence of the other Branches of Virtue against those, who not believing in Christ, think that they are courageous, and wise, and temperate, or just; that they may know that no one can live without Christ, without whom all Virtue is Vice. Hier. in Gal. Cap. iii. The same Father does elsewhere inculcate the same Doctrine, Quomodo autem, juxta Apostolum Jacobum, fides absque operibus mortua est; sic absque fide, quamvis bona opera sunt, mortua computantur. Qui igitur in Christo non credant, & sunt bonis moribus, aliud quid majus habent, quam opera virtutum. As according to the Apostle S. James, Faith without Works is dead; so without Faith, altho' the Works be good, they are accounted dead. Therefore they, who do not believe in Christ, and are of good Morals, have something in them more than the Works of Virtue. Hier. Ep. iii. S. AMBROSE, or whoever else is the Writer of the Book de Vocatione Gentium, says, Et si naturali intellectu conatus sit vitium relucere, hujus tamen temporis vitam steriliter ornavit: ad veras virtutes, aeternamque felicitatem non profecit. Altho' by our natural Understanding there be an Endeavour to withstand Vice, this only serves for a bare adorning of this Life; but it adds nothing to true Virtue, and eternal Happiness. de voc. Gent. Lib. i. Cap. vii. S. AUSTIN has a great deal upon this Subject, and particularly this: Absit, ut sit in aliquo virtus, nisi fuerit justus; absit, autem, ut sit justus verè, nisi vivat ex fide, justus enim ex fide vivet. Far be it that any one should say, that there is Virtue in any one who is not righteous. Far be it that any one should say, that any Man is righteous unless he live by Faith; for the Just shall live by Faith, Aug. contr. Jul. Lib. iv. C. 3. And elsewhere, Infidelis, sive abstinent, sive comedat, non sanctè vel justè comedit, vel abstinet, quia prava opinione utrumque facit. The Unbeliever, whether he abstain, or whether he eat, does not eat or abstain holily, or justly, because he does both out of an ill View, cont. Faust. Lib. xxxi. Cap. 4. PROSPER in this, as in other Matters writes after his Master S. Austin's Copy: Natura, etsi excellentissimis artibus & cunctis mortalium eruditionum polleat disciplinis, justificari ex se non potest, quia bonis suis male utitur, in quibus sine cultu veri dei, impietatis immunditæque convincitur, & unde se defendi existimat, accusatur. Nature, altho' it be adorned with all the most excellent Arts and learned Sciences, cannot of it self be justified, because it makes an ill Use of its Goods, in which, without the Worship of the true God it is arraigned of Impiety and Pollution, and is accused by that by which it thinks to defend it self. Prop. contr. Collat. Cap. xxii. The same Doctrine he teaches in his Poem de Ingratis.

*Et licet eximias studeat pollere per artes,
Ingeniumque bonum generosis moribus ornet;
Cæca tamen finem ad mortis per devia currit,
Nec vitæ æternæ veros, acquerere fructus
De falsa virtute potest.*

Tho' Nature be adorn'd with all the Art,
Which Wit and Education can impart,
She blindly leads to Death: her crooked Ways,
Which downwards tend, will not to Heaven raise,
Nor her false Virtue gain celestial Joys.

THEOPHYLACT speaks the Sense of the Greek Church in this Point of Doctrine, Τὸ μὲν ἐν ἄναι παυλὸς Χριστιανὸς, καὶ αὐτοὶ φημί, τὸ δὲ ἑλλήνας ἀγαθὸς εὐρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἂν ποτε φαίην ἡ δὲ τινες ἑδοξάν ἀγαθὸν ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν, πάντα

ἐπιθυμῶν. That there are wicked Christians I freely confess: but that there are good Heathens I will not venture to say. For tho' they might seem to be good, yet they did all things for the Sake of Glory. Theoph. in Joh. iii. 19.

b Neither do they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors say) deserve Grace of Congruity. I. When the Church of Rome had advanced their Doctrine of Merits, they distinguish'd Merit into two Kinds, the one Kind of Merit they called *Meritum ex Congruo*, the other *Meritum ex Condigno*. The Merit of Congruity their Writers define to be, *Opus cui ex Justitia non debetur merces, sed tantum ex Congruitate quadam, vel ex sola acceptantis liberalitate.* A Work to which a Reward is not strictly due, but only from its Fitness to receive a Reward, or out of the Liberality of the Donor. But of their *Meritum ex Condigno* they speak more arrogantly. For thus Cajetan explains it. *Mereri ex condigno, est mereri sic, ut secundum Justitiam sibi debeatur, ita quod injustum esset non reddi mercedem merito ex condigno.* To merit ex condigno, is to merit as it would be unjust that a Reward should not be allotted to it. Cajet. in 1. 2da. qu. 124. The last Sort of Merit they ascribe to Persons in a State of Belief, the former to Persons in *puris Naturalibus*, or under a State of Nature or Unbelief.

II. The Arguments which they make use of, to establish their Merit of Congruity, are chiefly these. The first is drawn from some Examples in Scripture of God's kind Acceptance, and rewarding of the good Actions of several Heathen Persons. As that of the Midwives in saving the Hebrew Children; upon which it is said, *That God dealt well with the Midwives, and that he built them Houses,* Exod. i. 20, 21. Of Nebuchadnezzar, to whom God promised to give the Land of Egypt, because he caused his Army to serve a great Service against Tyros, Ez. xxix. 18, 19. A second is drawn from that Passage of Zachery, *Turn ye unto me, saith the Lord, and I will turn unto you,* Zech. i. 3. A third is drawn from the Instance of Cornelius, who had an Angel sent to him, because he was a devout Man, &c. to whom God declared, *Thy Prayers and Alms are come up for a Memorial before God,* Acts x. 2, 4.

III. But these are frivolous Arguments to establish this Doctrine upon. For in the Instances of the Midwives, and Nebuchadnezzar, there is nothing of Merit mentioned in those Places. Besides, the Matter of their Reward are purely temporal, and divine Favours of that Kind none ever pretended to deprive the Heathens of. But because God was pleased liberally to reward these Actions, to establish a Merit thereupon, when it was owing only to the divine Munificence, is not only a foolish Subtlety, but tends to heighten Human Pride, and to rob God of his Honour. As to the Argument drawn from the Passage in Ezekiel, *Turn ye, &c.* this is not only a Popish, but a Pelagian Heterodoxy. For thus St. Austin says of the Pelagians, *Talia ergo de Scripturis colligunt, quale hoc est unum, Convertimini ad me, & ego convertar ad vos; ut secundum meritum Conversionis nostræ ad Deum, detur Gratia ejus, in qua ad nos & ipse convertitur.* They are wont to draw such Arguments as these from the Scriptures, *Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you: That according to the Merit of our Conversion to God, his Grace may be given, in which he turns to us,* Aug. de Grat. & Lib. Arbit. But to the Argument it self, S. Austin returns this solid Answer: *Nec attendunt qui hoc sentiunt, &c. They who are of this Opinion, do not consider, that unless our Conversion to God were the Gift of God, it would not be*

said

but because they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of Sin.

yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of Sin.

luit & præcepit; peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

said to him, Turn us O God of our Strength. Do thou turn and quicken us. And turn us O God of our Health; and many other things, which 'tis too long here to commemorate. For what is it to come to Christ, but only by believing to turn unto him. And yet he saith, No Man can come unto me, unless it be given him of my Father. *ibid.* As to the Instance of Cornelius, he was not in a pure state of Nature, but was in some measure a Believer. And if the Schoolmen of the Church of Rome say to the contrary, we have the Authority of one of their most celebrated Popes to confront them, even that of Gregory the great. Cornelius Centurio, &c. Cornelius the Centurion, whose alms before Baptism, by the testimony of an Angel were praised, did not come by works to faith, but by faith he came to works. For it is said to him by an Angel, Thy Prayers and Alms have come up for a Memorial before God. For if he did not truly believe in God before Baptism, why did he pray? or why did the Almighty God hear him, if he did not ask of him to be perfected in good things? Therefore he knew that God was the Creator of all things, but was ignorant that his Almighty Son was incarnate. Nor could he do good unless he had been before a Believer. For it is written, without faith it is impossible to please God. Therefore he must have faith, whose Works and Alms could please God. Greg. Hom. in Ezech. xix.

Merit of Congruity contrary to the Scriptures, and the Catholick doctrine of preventing Grace.

IV. Besides, this doctrine of Merit of Congruity is contrary to the Notion which the holy Scriptures give us of Persons in a State of Unbelief, and likewise to the doctrine of Preventing Grace. For (1.) the Description which the Scriptures afford us of Unbelievers is, that they are Enemies to God,

When we were Enemies, we were reconciled by the Death of his Son, Rom. v. 10. dead in Sins, Even when we were dead in Sins bath quickened us together with Christ, Eph. ii. 5. Atheists, having no hope, without God in the world, Eph. ii. 12. Now is it reasonable to think that Persons who sustain this vile Character, can be supposed to merit of God? (2.) This Doctrine does perfectly overthrow preventing Grace. For if there be any previous Work to deserve Grace, Grace can neither make the first step in Conversion, neither can it be free. For thus S. Austin well reasons upon this Head. Si gratia utique nullis meritis reddita: sed gratuita bonitate donata. If it be grace it is not given for merit; but it is freely bestowed, Aug. Ep. cv. And again, Percipiendæ hujus gratiæ merita nulla præcedunt: quoniam meritis impii non gratia sed pæna debetur: nec ista esset gratia, si non daretur gratuita, sed debita redderetur. No merits go before the reception of Grace; because the wicked does not deserve grace but punishment; nor indeed would it be grace if it were not given gratis, paid as a debt. *ibid.*

Virtues of the Heathens sinful. c We doubt not but that they have the nature of Sin.] The more Antient Writers of the Church, who wrote before the Pelagian Controversie, did not usually express

themselves in these Terms, they rather chose to say, that the Virtues of the Heathens were imperfect, and that they made but a false shew, &c. But when the Pelagians, in Opposition to divine Grace, were wont to aggrandize the Ethnick Virtues to the highest degree, and to make them Heroical and Divine, as if it were in despite to the Christian Morality; St. Austin, and the other Managers of the Orthodox Cause, run up Matters as high as they could, and on the contrary asserted, that the good Works of the Heathens were so far from being virtuous that they were sinful. And this they proved, because all their most glorious Actions had something of Sin mixed with them. For thus S. AUSTIN. Si Gentilis nudum operierit, quia non est ex fide peccatum? Prorsus, quia non est ex fide peccatum est: non quia per seipsum factum, quod est nudum operire, peccatum est, sed tali opere non in Domino gloriari, solus impius negat esse peccatum. If a Gentile shall clothe the naked, is it Sin, because it is not of Faith? yes, because it is not of Faith it is Sin; not because it is a Sin that he clothes the naked, but because he does not do it for God's honour, which none but a wicked Person can deny not to be a Sin. Aug. contr. Jul. Lib. iv. cap. 3. And in another place. Quantum libet opera infidelium prædicentur; Apostoli sententiam veram novimus, Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est. Though the Works of the Gentiles be never so much cried up; yet we are acquainted with the true doctrine of the Apostle, Whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin. Aug. de gest. Palest. cap. 14. The same doctrine is taught by LEO. Aliud agit sub veritate ratio, aliud sub falsitate deceptio. Apud nos fides justificat etiam manducantem; apud illos infidelitas polluit jejnantem; unde? quia extra Ecclesiam Catholicam nihil est integrum nihil castum, dicente Apostolo, Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est; cum divisus ab unitate corporis Christi, nulla similitudine comparatur nulla communione miscemur. Ad virtutem enim continentiae nihil prius pertinet, quam ab erroribus abstinere, quia tum demum bene ambulatur, cum per viam veritatis inceditur. Reason with Truth is one thing, and Deception with Falsity is another. Among us Christians Faith justifies him that eateth; among the Heathens Infidelity polluteth him that fasteth; wherefore because out of the Catholick Church there is nothing good or holy, the Apostle saying, whatsoever is without Faith is Sin; since we have no Similitude and no Communion with those who are divided from the Unity of Christ's Body. Now to the virtue of Continence nothing more conduces, than to abstain from Error, because we then walk well, when we walk in the way of Truth. Leo. Serm. ii. de jejun. Pentec. PROSPER delivers the same doctrine. Dicendo omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est, declaravit quod omnia bona, aut ex fide gesta virtutes sunt, quæ profecto justificant; aut si fuerint sine fide; non sunt aliqua bona credenda, sed vitia. The Apostle, by saying whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin, has declared, that all good Actions or Virtues proceeding from Faith do truly justify; but if they are not of Faith, they are not to be esteemed good Actions, but Sins. De Vit. Contemp. Lib. iii.

ARTICLE XIV.

XIV. Of Works of Supererogation.

Of Works of Supererogation.

XIV. De operibus Supererogationis.

Voluntary Works besides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, can-

Voluntary Works besides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation,

Opera quæ supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia & impietate predicari. Nam illis

a Voluntary Works, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation.]
The difference which the Church of Rome makes between Counsels and Precepts.

I. The Works here mentioned, are called in the Roman Church likewise by the Name of Counsels, and Evangelical Perfections. They are defined by their Writers to be good Works, not commanded by Christ, but only shewn and recommended. Bellarm. Lib. ii. de Mon. cap. 7. Their Writers make Precepts and Commands to differ in these Particulars. First, In the Matter, Counsels being difficult, and Precepts more easie. Secondly, In the Subject, one in common oblige all, the other only, after consent, some few. Thirdly, As to the Form, Precepts oblige of their own force, Counsels are left to every ones Pleasure. Fourthly, In the End or Effect; Precepts bringing Rewards to the Observers, and Punishments upon the Neglecters of them; but to the Observers of Counsels, though there be a greater Reward to the Observer, yet there is no Punishment to the Neglector. Bell. ibid.

Some prudential Rules in Scripture proper for the first state of Christianity after misapplied to support the doctrine of Counsels.

II. Now it must be owned, that though many of the Points of the doctrine of Supererogation are modern enough, yet some of them are pretty antient; being grounded upon some particular Texts of Scripture wrongly interpreted. For it must be observed, that at the beginning of Christianity, some particular Injunctions were necessary to be laid upon the Members of that spiritual Community, which as their Circumstances were altered, became no longer Obligatory. The Communication of Goods, or the laying up of Estates in a publick Fund for the use of the Community, was necessary for the more speedy Propagation of the Gospel, and for the sending out Missionaries to Preach in the distant Parts of the World. And so was abstaining from Marriage for a time, during the fragrancy of a Persecution, in all Persons who could bear it. And our Saviour in his Sermons did prepare his Disciples for this Doctrine, when it should be expedient. *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, Mat. xix. 21. And v. 12. For there are some Eunuchs which were so born from their Mothers womb; and there are some Eunuchs, which were made Eunuchs of men; and there be Eunuchs, which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* Now we see that these Rules of our Saviour were put in practice by the first Professors of Christianity, as being necessary for their present Circumstances and Condition. For as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles feet, Act. iv. 34, 35. And as to the other case of Celibacy, under the then present case of Persecution, the Apostle St. Paul delivers his judgment. *I suppose therefore, that it is good, for the present distress, I say it is good for a man so to be, (i.e. unmarried) 1 Cor. vii. 26.*

III. But within a few Centuries after the beginning of Christianity, the state of Celibacy and of the Monastick Life gaining vogue among Christians, these Prudential Rules, which at first related only to particular Persons and Circumstances, were advanced into Lessons of sublimer Perfection, which all Persons who aspired to any degree of more elevated Piety, were to come up to. This is clear from the Writings of St. Jerom and others, who wrote in favour of the state of Celibacy and the Monastick Life.

These Texts brought by some of the antients, in favour of Celibacy and a Monastick Life.

IV. Afterwards, the frequent use of the Text in the History of the friendly Samaritan, in the Latin Translation, *liquid supererogaveris, &c. what thou layest out more I will pay thee*, brought for the support of the doctrine of Works of more than ordinary Perfection, occasioned the Denomination of Works of Supererogation. For thus S. Austin. *Stabularius autem Apostolus, duo denarii duo precepta charitatis, quam per spiritum secum acceperant Apostoli, ad evangelandum ceteris; quod supererogat illud est quod ait, de Virginibus autem Preceptum Domini non habeo, Concilium autem do. The Apostle is the Host, or Inkeeper: the two pence are the two precepts of Charity, which the Apostles had received by the Spirit, to preach to others; the laying out more, is what he says, As concerning Virgins, I have no command of the Lord, but I give my advice. Aug. Lib. ii. 4 Evang. c. 19. And again. Quæ licita sunt, nec ullo precepto Domini prohibentur, sed sicut expedit potius tractanda sunt, non præscripto Legis, sed Concilio Charitatis; Hæc quæ amplius Supererogantur, sancio qui curandus ad stabulum Samaritani miseratione perductus est. Those things which are lawful, nor are prohibited by any precept of the Lord, but are to be performed according as it is expedient, not by command of any Law, but by Council of Charity: These are those things which are [Supererogantur] laid out over and above, upon the wounded man, who by the pity of the Samaritan was brought to the Inn. Aug. de Adul. Con. Lib. ii. c. 14. The like doctrine is laid down by Fulgentius. *Quid est, liquid supererogaveris, nisi quid a me magis acceperis? Nam & ipse quia supererogabat, in eo quod non acceperat preceptum, sed dabat ex charitate Concilium, misericordiam se proficitur utrique consecutum. What is the meaning of these words, what thou layest out more, but only what thou hast more received of me? For because he laid out more, inasmuch that he received no command, but gave Advice out of Charity, he declares that he had received Mercy. Fulg. Prol. Lib. contr. Monimum. This doctrine of Supererogating with relation to the state of Celibacy, stood without any further Alteration to the time of Bede; who writes thus, upon this Head. *Quandocunque supererogaveris, ego cum rediero, reddam tibi; supererogat stabularius, quod in duobus denariis, non accepit, cum dicit Apostolus, De Virginibus autem preceptum Domini non habeo, Concilium autem do. If you shall lay out more, I will pay it, when I return; the Inkeeper lays out more than the two pence, which he had received, when the Apostle says, as concerning Virgins I have***

The occasion of the name of Works of Supererogation.

not be taught without arrogancy and iniquity. For by them Men do declare, that they do not only render to God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required: Whereas Christ saith plainly, *When ye have done all that is commanded you, say, We be unprofitable Servants.*

* ^b cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare, That they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, when ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, † We are unprofitable Servants.

* Cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety, MS. CCCC. 1571.

† We be unprofitable Servants, MS. CCCC. 1571.

declaranſ homines, non tantum Deo ſe reddere, quæ tenentur, ſed plus in ejus gratiam facere, quam deberent, cum aperte Chriſtus, dicat; cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta ſunt vobis, dicite, ſervi inutiles ſumus.

have no command of the Lord, but I give my Advice. *Bed in cap. 10. Luc.*

What the doctrine of Works of Supererogation was in the more corrupt ſtate of the Roman Church.

V. In ſucceeding Ages, about the tenth or eleventh Century, as the Corruptions of the Roman Church increased, and new Doctrines were brought in of Purgatory, Satisfaction and Indulgences, the Doctrine of Supererogation was advanced to a more scandalous height. For then it began to be the current Doctrine of that Church, That there was a temporal Punishment due for every Sin, which Men muſt ſatisfie for (as their Phrase is) by remarkable Afflictions, or by Penances in this World, or by Purgatory in the next: That the temporal Punishments of ſome good Perſons were ſo very great, and their Lives ſo very virtuous, that they bore an Over-proportion to the few Sins they had committed; that theſe Satisfactionſ were not without their Effect, tho' not to the Souls of thoſe good Perſons who they ſuppoſed to have no need of them, but to thoſe of greater Sinners who did; That theſe meritorious Satisfactionſ of the Saints, whom by fabulous Relations and Legendary Stories, they were wont to multiply to an exceſſive Degree, were laid up, as it were, in a publick Bank or Treasury of the Church, of which the Pope was the Keeper or Diſpenſer; That it was in his Power to communicate the Efficacy of theſe Merits at his Pleaſure. And this he did not fail to do for many Ages together, in Plenary Pardons, Indulgences, &c. which, as for ſome time it brought in incredible Wealth to the Papacy, ſo it roſe at laſt to ſuch an intolerable Scandal, that it made a ready way for the Reformation; all good and wiſe Perſons growing impatient under ſuch inſupportable Abuſes.

^b Cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety, &c.]

The doctrine of Works of Supererogation arrogant and impious.

Our Church does very juſtly tax the Church of Rome with Arrogance and Impiety, for the maintaining this Doctrine. For what can be more arrogant and impious, than for ſinful Man, whoſe life, when it is beſt ſpent, is full of Failures and Imperfections, to pretend not only to

make Satisfaction to God for his own Sins, but to ſatisfie for the Sins of other Men likewise? Now it will appear, that this Charge may be juſtly made out againſt the Roman Church, by attending to the two following Conſiderations.

I. Becauſe every Man is obliged to do all the Good that he can do, ſo that if he leaves any good Action undone, which it is in his Power to do, and which is conſiſtent with his Circumſtances and other prudent Conſiderations, he commits a Sin; and by doing of it he does no more than what his Duty obliges him to; he is ſo far from meriting either for himſelf or others by the Performance, that by the Neglect of it he lays himſelf open to the Divine Juſtice. This is plain from the Text of holy Scripture quoted in this Article, *When ye have done all that is commanded you, ſay, ye are unprofitable Servants.* And this is but conſonant to the general Tenour of the holy Scriptures: Which command us to love God, with all our Heart, Soul, Strength and Mind, and our Neighbour as our ſelves, Mat. xxii. 36.

to cleanſe our ſelves from all filthineſs, both of fleſh and ſpirit, perfecting holineſs in the fear of the Lord, 2 Cor. vii. 1. Now how is this conſiſtent with fixing a Period in our Progreſs of Piety, with making a Stop when we are arrived at a common degree of Sanctity, and looking upon all further Advances to be more than we are oblig'd to?

II. Becauſe every Man has enough to do, to work out his Repentance for own Sins, the beſt of Men being ſubject to many. For the Apoſtle S. James, tells us, that in many things we offend all, Jam. iii. 2. The holy Pſalmiſt informs us, that in God's ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified, Pſal. cxliiii. 2. And S. John ſays, If we ſay that we have no Sin, we deceive our ſelves, and the Truth is not in us, 1 John i. 8. Now is it reaſonable to think, that any Man can over-merit both for himſelf and others, that has ſo much to quit upon his own Score? This is as abſurd, as to imagine, that one Traytor, who has forfeited his own Life by his Treason, ſhould preſume to intercede with his Prince for another Traytor's Pardon.

Becauſe every one is obliged to do his beſt.

Becauſe every one has enough to do to work out his Repentance for his own Sins.

ARTICLE XV.

XV. No man is without sin but Christ alone.

Christ in the truth of our Nature was made like unto us in all things, (sin only except) from which he was clearly void, both in his Flesh and in his Spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself made once for ever, should take away the sins of the world: and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. But the rest, (yea, altho' we be baptized and

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our Nature, was made like unto us in all Things (* Sin only excepted) from which he was clearly void, both in his Flesh and his Spirit. He came † to be a Lamb without spot, who by Sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the Sins of the World: and Sin, as St. John saith, was not in him. * But all we the rest (although baptized and born again in

XV. De Christo qui solus est sine peccato.

Christus in nostrae naturae veritate per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne, tum in spiritu. Venit ut agnus absque macula, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam, tolleretur, & peccatum (ut inquit Johannes) in eo non erat: sed nos reliqui etiam baptizati, & in Christo rege-

* Sin only except, MS. CCCC. 1571.

† To be the Lamb without spot, MS. CCCC. 1571.

* But we the rest, though, baptized and born again in Christ, yet we all offend, MS. CCCC. 1571.

What is the Design of this Article. The learned Bishop of Sarum, in his Exposition, is of Opinion, that this Article is placed here as an Appendix of the former concerning Works of Supererogation, which depending upon the supposed Perfection of the Saints, this latter likewise is here opposed. Which Observation may be in some measure just: But I humbly conceive, that the Compilers had something farther in view, and that is the old Pelagian Doctrine of the Impeccability of holy Men. For the Papists never say, that their Saints (bating the Controversie about the blessed Virgin) are without Sin. Besides it is plain, that all the Series of Articles from the VIIth to the XVIIIth are advanced chiefly against Pelagianism, and against the Papists only as taking a share with them in their Errors. And taking it in this Sense, I shall make my Observations thereupon accordingly.

Our blessed Saviour (sin only except) from which he was clearly void. The Doctrine of the sinless Nature of our blessed Saviour, is a Point so clear in Scripture, and so frequently asserted therein, that it is needless to insist much upon the Proof thereof. The Author to the Hebrews argues the great Efficacy of his Sacrifice, and the Superiority of it to any of the Mosaicall, from this Head. For such an high Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from Sinners, and made higher than the Heavens. Who needed not daily, as those high Priests, to offer up Sacrifices, first for his own Sins, and then for the peoples. Heb. vii. 26, 27. St. Peter saith, that we are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish, and without spot, 1 Pet. i. 19. His going about always doing good, and making his very Miracles, which attested his divine Commission, to be so extraordinarily

beneficial to Mankind, in curing the Blind, the Lame and the Sick whithersoever he came, are demonstrative Proofs of his unspotted Perfection. But no more need be insisted upon for the Confirmation of this Point, since it never was denied by any Christian; the Hereticks of old, who in their several turns run into all Manner of Errors, concerning almost every particular of our Saviour's Humanity, Divinity and other Properties, yet never presumed to question his unspotted Purity, and freedom from Sin.

But all we the rest, although baptized, &c. yet offend, &c. This Clause seems to be levelled against the Pelagians and their Followers, who asserted that Persons after Baptism might live without Sin. This was the expresse Doctrine of Pelagius, as S. Austin reports it. *Arbitrii libertate qui bene utitur, ita se totum tradit Deo, omnemque suam mortificat voluntatem, ut cum Apostolo possit dicere, Non autem iam ego, vivit autem in me Christus.* *Ita ut non sit Libertas, sed servitus, donec se prope dimitteat wholly up to God, and mortifies all his Will, what he may say with the Apostle, Now I no longer live, but Christ liveth in me.* Pel. ad Demetr. citant. Aug. Lib. de grat. cap. xxii. And so again in his Book of Nature. *Hoc recte dici potest de his, quorum neque bonorum, neque malorum scriptura sit memor. De illis vero quorum justitia meminit & peccatorum sine dubio meminisset, siqua eos peccasse sensisset.* This may be rightly spoken of them, of whose good or evil Actions the Scripture makes no mention. But of those whose Righteousness it takes notice of, it would without all doubt have mentioned their Sins, if they had committed any. Cit. Aug. Lib. de Nat. cap. 37. Critobulus the Pelagian in S. Jerom asserts the like. *Esto ut nullus potueris omne vitare peccatum in pueritia,*

born again in Christ) yet we offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.

Christ) yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us.

nerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes. Et si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, & veritas in nobis non est.

pueritia, adolescentia & juventute: nunquid negare potes, plurimos justos & sanctos viros post vitia, omni se ad virtutes animo contulisse, & per has caruisse peccato? Grant that in the Time of Childhood, Nonage, or Youth, no one can avoid all Sin: Can you deny that many just and holy Men after Vice have so wholly applied themselves to Virtue, and for this Reason have altogether been void of Sin? Hier. Dial. iii. adv. Pelag.

II. But this extravagant Opinion, as it is contrary to the holy Scriptures, as is demonstrated in the former Article, so the ancient Fathers, in their several Ages, have declared their Opinion against it. **JUSTIN MARTYR** directly opposes it, in these Words. Πάν γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐυρεθήσεται ὑπὸ καλάρων ὄν, κατὰ τὸ νόμον Μωσέως. Ἐπὶ κατάρτων ὅς εἰρηται πᾶς ὁς ἐκ ἐμμένει ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῶ νόμου ποιῆσαι αὐτά. ἡ δὲ ἀδὲς ἀκαθάρτος πᾶντα ἐπιτίσκει, ὡς ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν τοιοῦτος, ἀντιπεῖν. ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ μᾶλλον, καὶ ἥττον ἀλλήλων ἐκτεταλμένα ἐφύλατται. All humankind will be found obnoxious to the Curse, according to the Law of Moses. For every one is pronounced accursed, who doth not continue in all those things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them. But certainly no Man hath exactly observed them all. Nor will any venture to deny this. But there are some who observe the Commandments more, and others less. Just. Mar. Dial. cum Tryph.

IRENÆUS delivers the same Doctrine. Veniens autem Lex, quæ data est per Moysen, & testificans de peccato, quoniam peccator est, regnum quidem ejus abstulit, latronem & non regem eum detegens, & homicidam eum ostendit. Queramus autem hominem, qui habebat peccatum in se, reum mortis ostendens eum. Spiritus enim cum lex esset, manifestavit tantummodò peccatum, non autem interemit. The Law coming which was given by Moses, and testifying concerning Sin, that every Man is a Sinner, took away the Devil's Kingdom, and discovering him to be a Thief and not a King, shew'd him a Murderer. But it laid a Burden on Man, who had Sin in him, shewing him to be guilty of Death. But since the Law is spiritual, it only discovered Sin, but did not kill it. Iren. Lib. iii. cap. 30.

ORIGEN speaks to the same Purpose. Quis super justitiâ suâ gloriabitur, cum audiat Deum per Prophetam dicentem, Quia omnis justitia vestra, sicut pannus mulieris menstruæ? sola igitur justa gloriatio est in fide crucis Christi, quæ excludit omnem illam gloriationem, quæ descendit ex operibus Legis. Who can glory in his Righteousness, when he hears God speaking by the Prophet, That all your Righteousness is like filthy Rags? Therefore the only just glorying is in the Faith of Christ's Cross, which excludes all Boasting which proceeds from performing the Works the Law obliges to. Orig. in cap. iii. Ep. ad Rom.

MACARIUS asserts, that tho' sometimes Men may pride themselves in their virtuous Actions, yet upon better Thoughts, they must allow themselves to be great Sinners. Μετὰ τὴν κακίαν καὶ ἁγίαν μετὰ βλάβειν τὰ περὶ νόμου. ὡς ἐξ ἀληθείας τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἡ γὰρ ἀμαρτωλὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. But after Time and Experience things are changed, so that truly such an one comes to think himself the greatest Sinners Mac. Hom. xxxviii.

S. CHRYSOSTOM speaks in the same Tenor. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. τὸτο γὰρ ἐκ πίστεως δεικνύσι δίκαιοσύνην μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ διὰ νόμου σωθῆναι ἐκ ἐνι ἐπειδὴ γὰρ νόμον, φασὶν, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐξήρησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἵσαν ὑπὸ τῷ ἁρᾶν, διὰ τὸ παράβασιν, ἐπενοήθη βαδίσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως. ἐπεὶ καὶ σημεῖον μέγιστον ἐστὶ τὸ μετένα συνιέναι δίκαιον ὡς ἐκ νόμου. καὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ὁ προφήτης ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ νόμου ζήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ πίστεως. ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ πίστεως. He doth not only shew, that Justification is by Faith, but that it cannot be that Salvation is attainable by the Law. Afterwards he says, that no one hath kept the Law, but that all by Transgression are subject to the Curse, there is found out

an easier Way by Faith, which is an undeniable Argument, that no one can attain at Righteousness by the Law. For the Prophet doth not say, that the Just shall live by the Law, but by Faith. But the Law is not of Faith. Chrys. in Gal. cap. iii.

St. CYPRIAN among the Latins, asserts the same Truth. Nequis sibi quasi innocens placeat, cum innocens nemo sit, & se extollendo plus pereat: instruitur & docetur, peccare se quotidie, dum quotidie pro peccatis jubetur orare. Cyp. de Orat. Dom.

St. JEROM upon the same Head writes thus. Omnes peccaverunt, & indigent Gloria Dei. Ecclesiæ quoque hanc firmante sententiam: Homo non est justus in terra, quia faciat bonum, & non peccet. Denique & inferius Apostoli dictum manifestè docet: nec Moysen, nec illustrem aliquem de antiquis virum, apud Deum justificari posse per Legem. All have sinned and fallen short of the Glory of God. The Preacher likewise confirming this Doctrine, There is no one righteous upon the Earth, who doth good and sinneth not. And this last Saying of the Apostle clearly shews, that neither Moses, nor any other famous Man among the Ancients, could be justified before God by the Law. Hier. in cap. iii. Epist. ad Gal.

St. AUGUSTIN, among many Passages in Support of this Doctrine, has this remarkable one. Virtus est Charitas, quæ id quod diligendum est diligitur. Hæc in aliis major, in aliis minor, in aliis nulla est. Plenissima verò, quæ jam non possit augeri, quamdiu hic homo vivit, est in nemine. Quamdiu autem augeri potest, profecto illud quod minus est, quam debet ex vitio est. Ex quo vitio non est justus in terra, qui faciat bonum, & non peccet. Virtue is a Charity, by which that is beloved, which ought to be beloved. This is greater in some, less in others, in some none at all. But the most perfect Virtue, which admits of no Increase, is in no one at all. For since it can be increased, that which is less than it ought to be, is from Sin. On Account of which Sin, there is no righteous Man upon Earth, who doeth good and sinneth not. Aug. Ep. xxix. ad Hier.

c Offend in many things.] This Apostolical Aphorism which the Article uses the Words of, viz. that of St. James, in many things we offend all, Jam. iii. 2. must be supposed to relate only to Sins of Ignorance and Infirmary, and not to the Habit of any wilful Sin, nor to the single Act of any Sin of a gross and enormous Nature; for the Commission of such Sins do exclude from the Kingdom of God, Gal. v. 19, &c. Now it being too fatally evident, that the best of Men are not freed from Sins of this lesser Nature, they being frequently drawn into them by Passion or Surprise; the Pelagians of old not having the Confidence to deny so manifest a Truth, and yet being withal resolved to maintain their Doctrine of Impeccability of the Saints, denied that irregular Actions committed out of Ignorance or Infirmary were Sins at all. Upon this Account **Celestius** the Pelagian in St. Austin plainly declares Oblivionem, & ignorantiam non subjacere peccato, quoniam non secundum voluntatem eveniunt, sed secundum necessitatem. Faults of Forgetfulness and Ignorance are not to be ranked under the Title of Sin, because they are not what a Man wills, but what he cannot help. Aug. de Gent. Palaft. cap. 18.

II. But this is contrary to the express Doctrine of the holy Scriptures. For the Mosaic Law provides an Attonement for Sins of this Nature, which it would not have done, if they had not in them the Nature of Sins. If any Soul sin through Ignorance, he shall bring a She-goat of the first Year for a Sin-Offering, and the Priest shall make an Attonement for the Soul that sinneth by Ignorance before the Lord, Numb. xv. 27, 28. The Prophet ascribes the Judgment of the Babylonish Captivity in good Measure to Sins of this Nature. Therefore are my People gone into Captivity, because they have no Knowledge, Isai. v. 13. The

The Pelagians deny Sins of Ignorance and Infirmary to be Sins.

This contrary to the Doctrine of Scripture.

The Persecution which the Jews gave to our Saviour and to the primitive Christians, and which was at last severely revenged on them, is nevertheless ascribed to Ignorance. They shall put you out of the Synagogues; yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God Service: And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me, John xvi. 3, 4. And now Brethren I wot, that through Ignorance ye did it, as did also your Rulers, Acts iii. 17. And S. Paul himself is forced to fly to God's infinite Mercy for the Pardon of his Sins, which he committed out of Ignorance. I obtained Mercy, because I did it ignorantly, in Unbelief, 1 Tim. i. 13.

Contrary to the Writings of the ancient Fathers.

III. Consonantly to this Doctrine, the Catholick Writers, who opposed the Heresie of Pelagius, maintained that Human Infirmities, Negligences and Ignorances were Sins. For S. Jerom, in his Dialogue against the Pelagians, having shewn by many Instances that God does punish Sins of Ignorance, says, *Pro oblivione errore & ignorantia, quasi pro peccato, offeruntur Sacrificia. Deus precepit, meum est observare quod iussit. For Forgetfulness, Error, and Ignorance, Sacrifices are offered, as for Sin. God hath commanded, it is my Part to obey what he hath enjoined. Hier. contr. Pel. Lib. i. And again, Tantis Exemplis docere te volui, peccare hominem per ignorantiam, & pro peccato, ut in lege hostiam, ita & in Evangelio offerendam penitendum. I was willing to instruct you by these great Examples, that Man might sin out of Ignorance, and that, as there was a Sacrifice for Sin under the Law, so Repentance was required for it under the Gospel, ibid. Lib. ii. To the like Purport S. Austin, Et tamen etiam per ignorantiam facta quedam improbantur, & corrigenda judicantur, sicut in divinis autoritatibus legimus. There are some Actions which are to be blamed, on the score of Ignorance, and thought worthy of Amendment, as we learn by the Authority of the holy Scriptures, Aug. de Lib. arb. Lib. iii. Cap. 18. And he confutes the contrary Opinion of Celsinus the Pelagian, Quia David dicat, delicta juventutis meae ne memineris & ignorantias; & quod in lege sacrificia pro ignorantia, sicut pro peccato offerantur. Because David says, Remember not the Sins of my Youth, and my Ignorances; and because, under the Law, Sacrifices were offered for Ignorances, as for Sin. Aug. contr. Pelag. Cap. 67. But long before their Time, or that the Pelagian Controversy had began, Lactantius affirmed the same. Eo accedit, quod nemo esse sine delicto potest, quamdiu carnis indumento oneratus est; cujus infirmitas triplici modo subjacet Dominio peccati, factis, dictis, cogitationibus, &c. Add to this, That no one can be without Sin, as long as he is loaded with this cloathing of Flesh; whose Infirmitie is subject three ways to the Dominion of Sin, by Deeds, Words and Thoughts, Lact. Lib. vi. Cap. 13.*

Obj. I. But it is objected against this Doctrine, and in Favour of the Pelagian Tenet of Impeccability, that otherways God had prescribed Laws, which it is impossible for human Infirmitie to fulfil, which as it would argue Injustice in an human Legislator, so it does much more so in a divine one, who is infinitely wise and good. And thus Pelagius himself argues in his bold Way. Duplici ignorantia accusamus Deum: inscientie, ut videatur nescire quod fecit, nescire quod iussit: quasi oblitus fragilitatis humane cujus author ipse est, imposuerit homini mandata, quae ferre non possit. We accuse God of a twofold Ignorance, as not knowing either what he had made, or what he had commanded: as if he had forgotten human Frailty which he himself had created, and had given Man Commands, which it is impossible for him to discharge. Pelag. Epist. ad Demetr. citante Hier. adv. Pelag.

Ans. But to this it may be answered, That it is not in general true, that the Commands of God are impossible to be observed. (1.) For the Ancients very well looked upon this as an impious Assertion. Thus S. Basil Ἀσεβες ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀδύνατα εἶναι τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος παραγγέλματα. 'Tis an impious Assertion to say that the Commands of the Spirit are impossible. Bas. Hom. xix. And the like S. Chrysostom. Μη τοίνυν ἀδύνατα εἶναι νομίζωμεν τὰ ἐπιτάγματα. καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν εὐκολόν. ἐὰν νῦν εἰπώμεν. Let us not think that the Commandments are impossible, which are certainly profitable to us, and easy, if we be watchful. Chryf. Hom. xviii. in Mat. (2.) But tho' no Man can be always so constantly upon his Guard, as to perform every Part of his Duty, during the whole Course of his Life, yet there is no Part of Duty so

difficult but that some one or other may perform it, if he sets resolutely upon it, tho' at other times, and in other Parts of Duty, Incogitancy may creep in upon him. Which S. Jerom expresses in these Words. *Vides quod Deus possibilis iussit: & tamen id quod possibile est, per naturam nullum posse complere. Dedit itaque praecepta universa, virtutesque varias, quas omnes simul habere non possumus. You see therefore, that God has commanded things possible to be done: and yet that which is possible no one by Nature can fulfil. He has given universal Precepts, and commanded various Virtues, all of which no one can possess at the same time. Hier. Dial. i. adv. Pelag. And again. Possibilia praecepit Deus, & ego fateor. Sed haecabilia cuncta singuli habere non possumus, non imbecillitate naturae, ne calumniam facias Deo, sed animi assuetudine, qui cunctas simul & semper non potest habere virtutes. God has commanded things possible to be done, and this I own. But all those things that are possible to be done, single Persons cannot perform at the same time; not thro' any Fault of their Nature, for that would be to fix a Reproach upon God, but through the Habit of our Mind, which cannot stand possessed of all Virtues together. ibid. (3.) The whole Law of God is a Scheme or Platform of exquisite Perfection, which Men are obliged to aim at the Performance of, though human Frailty will not allow them to discharge in every Particular, as long as they continue in this Life; the full Completion thereof being reserved to the more perfect State in the other World. This some have compared to the Idea which is laid down by Critics of a perfect Poet or Orator, the Perfections whereof have been copied some by one, and some by another, but none have been found compleat in all. And this seems to have been the Opinion of S. Austin. Hoc in illa vita complebimus, cum videbimus facie ad faciem. Sed ideo hoc etiam nobis praeceptum est, ut admoneremur; quid fide exposcere, quo spem praemittere, & obliviscendo quae retro sunt, in quae anteriora nos extendere debeamus. We shall be compleat in all these Matters, when we shall see Face to Face; but they are commanded us in this Life, that we may be put in Mind of what we ought to wish for by Faith, whither we should extend our Hopes before hand, by forgetting those Things which are behind, we ought to reach out unto things before. Aug. de Spir. & Lit. Cap. 36.*

Object. II. It is likewise urged in Favour of Impeccability, that the contrary Doctrine of the Sinfulness of all Men does impute a Vice and Corruption to human Nature, which being framed by God, can have no Evil in it; and to say that it has, is downright Manicheism. This the Pelagians of old objected against the Orthodox, as is plain by that Passage of S. Jerom. Reclamabis & dices, Manicheorum dogmas nos sequi, & eorum qui de diversis naturis Ecclesiae bella concinnant, asserentium malam esse Naturam, quae immutari nullo modo possit. But you will cry out against this, and say, that we herein follow the Doctrine of the Manichees, and of those who have raised Storms in the Church by maintaining two contrary Principles, and assert that our Nature is so evil that it cannot be bettered. Hier. Ep. ad Celsiphon.

Ans. But to this it is answered; first, That there is a great Difference between asserting the Original Evilness of human Nature, and the Fragility or Weakness which it has contracted by the Fall. The Manichees asserted, That human Nature was at first created evil, but the Orthodox on the contrary asserted with the holy Scriptures, That God made Man upright, &c. And that the wrong Byass, which it has since contracted, is owing to Sin. And thus S. Jerom answers this Objection or Calumny. *Ame nunquam audies malam esse naturam: sed quomodo sit carnis fragilitas differenda, ipso qui scripsit, docente, discamus. Interroga eum quare scripserit, Non enim quod volo, hoc operor, sed quod odi malum, illud facio. You shall never hear me say, that our Nature is Evil: but how the Frailty of the Flesh is to be maintained, you may learn from the Apostle who has taught it in his Writings, Ask him, why he wrote those Words, for what I would that I do not, but what I hate that do I. Hier. ad Celsiph. Secondly, This Weakness of human Nature is sufficiently supplied by Grace and the divine Assistance. For thus S. Jerom, Et si ingrediendum via regia, nec ad sinistram nec ad dextram declinemus; appetitumque propriae voluntatis Dei semper credamus auxilio gubernari. We go a middle Way between the Pelagians and the Manichees, neither diverting to the right Hand or the left; believing the Appetite of our Will to be always guided by the divine Assistance. Hier. in Proem. Dial. adv. Pel.*

ARTICLE XVI.

XVI. Of Sin against
the Holy Ghost.

Of Sin after Baptism.

XVI. De peccato
post Baptismum.

Every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism, is not sin against the holy Ghost, and unpardonable: wherefore the place for penitents is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin; and by the grace of God (we may) arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place for penitents to such as truly repent and amend their lives.

^a Not every deadly Sin willingly committed after Baptism is the sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. * Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denied to such, as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin, as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

Non omne peccatum mortale post Baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in spiritum sanctum, & irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a Baptismo in peccata, locus penitentiae non est negandus: post acceptum spiritum sanctum possumus a gratia Dei recedere atque peccare, denuoq; per gratiam Dei resurgere, ac respicere. Ideoq; illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut verè respicientibus veniam locum denegant.

* Wherefore the place for Penitence, MS. CCCC. 1571.

^a *Not every deadly Sin, &c.*] This Article is levelled against the Doctrine of the Novatians of old, who held every Sin committed after Baptism to be unpardonable. This Doctrine being revived by some of the Anabaptists or other Enthusiasts which sprung up at the beginning of the Reformation, it is not improbable, that the Compilers of the Articles had an eye likewise upon their Heterodoxy. For as the Papists were wont maliciously to impute the wild Doctrines of all the several sorts of Enthusiasts to all Protestants, so it was thought here convenient to defend our Church, against the Imputation of any such Opinion. But because this Doctrine was first broached by the Novatians, it will not be foreign to our purpose to speak a word or two concerning the Rise and Author of that Heresie.

Of the Novatian Heresie.

This Heresie was broached by *Novatianus* a Priest of the Roman Church, who before he entered into holy Orders, or at least before he embraced Christianity, professed Philosophy. He received Baptism being a Clinick, *i. e.* upon

a dangerous Sicknes, his Life being then despaired of; which rendered any one incapable of Orders by the Canons of the Church. This made even his Priest's Orders to be questioned. But he got himself to be ordained a Bishop after a most scandalous manner. Upon the Death of *Fabius*, *Novatian* was a Competitor for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, but however *Cornelius*, having a superior Interest and better Qualifications, obtained that Dignity. *Novatianus* being nettled at this Disappointment, was resolved, as much as in him lay, to hinder his quiet Possession of that See. Therefore he draws up a Libel against him, accusing him of several Crimes, the Principal of which, and which he mostly insisted on, was, That he had admitted to Communion several Christians who had lapsed into Idolatry during the Persecution; he maintaining it as a fundamental Maxim, That none who had fallen into so foul a Sin were ever capable of being received into the Church again: whereupon he renounces all Communion with *Cornelius*. His Arguments being popular gained him many Adherents, especially among the Confessors in the late Persecutions, who could not easily brook, that those who had so basely betrayed the Cause

of Religion, should by an easie Discipline of the Church, be set upon the level with those, who had ventured their Blood in defence of it. *Novatianus* having strengthened his Party by these Arguments and Criminations, next casts about how he might get himself ordained Bishop; which he effects this way. He by some of his Agents prevails upon three ignorant Bishops to come to *Rome*, upon account of accommodating some Difficulties; where having gotten them, he shuts them up in a Room, makes them drunk, (as *Cornelius* says in his Letter) and about ten a Clock at Night causes them to ordain him Bishop. This done he sends into *Africk* to have his Ordination approved of by the Bishops there, who considering of

the Scandalousness of his Proceeding, confirmed *Cornelius* his Ordination, and condemned his; and their Example was followed by the Bishops in other Parts. He was afterwards publicly condemned, and thrown out of the Church, by a Synod of Sixty Bishops, convened by *Cornelius*. But however still he continued to avow his Principle, That none who had apostatized should ever be restored to the Church, which afterwards he enlarged to every grievous and wilful Sin; thereby becoming the Head of an Heresie and Schism, which kept up in the Church for several Ages, by a Succession of schismatical Bishops; there being in several Cities, one Bishop of the Orthodox, and another of the Novatians.

